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PAST, FUTURE OF NEAR EASTERN COUNTRIES ANALYZED

Paris POLITIQUE ETRANGERE in French 10 Mar 80 pp 151-165

[Article by Andre Fontaine, editor in chief of the newspaper LE MONDE:
"The Near East Yesterday and Tomorrow"]

[Text] Speaking to Michel Jobert, who was at that time minister of foreign affairs, one day, Henry Kissinger told him that the conflict in the Near East had ceased to be local to become regional and then international, and that his great ambition was to return it to the regional, and then local, level, "because as far as resolving it is concerned," he said, "that can never be accomplished." A historian, as he is, should not have used the word "never." There is no more a "never" in history than there is an "always." He should have also seen--and doubtless he has understood this since then--that the conflict in question is international in itself, although none of the "local" parties involved has any chance of having its views prevail without outside support, and none of the great powers can allow itself to ignore the region purely and simply in terms of profit and loss.

Thus it is necessary to recall first of all what is at stake. For Israel, as for the Christians of Lebanon, it is a matter of the right to survive in the midst of 400 million Moslems, including 100 million Arabs. For the Palestinians challenging Israel, it means recognition of the right to existence as a state, categorically rejected by the Jewish nation and less categorically by its American protector, but accepted or proclaimed--again with unequal conviction and effectiveness--by the socialist countries, the vast majority of Third World nations and some Western governments. For the capitalist countries, it is a question of the security of their oil supplies and the commitment, at least moral, made to Israel, which has powerful means for exerting pressure on a number of them, and on the United States in any case, to assure respect for it. For the Soviets and their allies in the world, it involves the growing need to have recourse to Arab oil, in the awareness that it is the Strait of Hormuz through which 30 percent of the hydrocarbon traffic bound for the Western world passes, that is its Achilles heel. For the Arabs. . .

For the Arabs, or we should say for the Arab nations, things are simpler. The convergence of their policies on this point does not prevent them from opposing one another furiously very often on others. Algeria and Morocco are practically at war over the Western Sahara. The two Yemens found themselves engaged at the beginning of 1979 in a test of force which deteriorated into armed conflict until Syrian-Iraqi arbitration, with the support of Saudi Arabia, put an end to it. Turning their backs on a rivalry which dated back to when they won independence, the governments in Damascus and Bagdad were in fact at the time enjoying a real honeymoon. But this lasted only a few months. The enemy brothers in the two factions of the Baas--the socialist Arab renaissance party--have been back at their familiar destructive activities since the summer.

The wheeling wing of conquering Islam, with vast resources available thanks to oil, Colonel Qadhafi's Libya has pursued undertakings to destroy stability one after the other into the heart of Africa. It is blocked by Egypt which, not content with signing a peace treaty with the sworn enemy of the Arab world, has transferred the bulk of the force massed until the present opposite Tsahal and the Israeli army to points all along the Libyan frontier. The suspension of diplomatic relations with Cairo by all 22 members of the Arab League, with the sole exceptions of the Sudan and the Sultanate of Oman following the signing of this peace treaty, the "separate" nature of which the two parties insist on denying, against all logic, did not prevent the king of Morocco from subsequently accepting major aid from President Sadat in the struggle against the Polisario Front. The announced elimination of the payment of subsidies to Egypt by the oil producing emirates and by Saudi Arabia does not extend to the point of putting an end to their numerous and sizeable investment on its territory.

There could be no end to a list of these contradictions, in which, however, the actors, the locales, the nature and the purpose never cease to change. They illustrate the existence of profound differences in the Arab world between the partisans and adversaries of peace with Israel. Between the pro-American and the pro-Soviet factions. Between the Westernized groups and xenophobes. Between the rich and the poor. Between the settled peoples and the nomads. Between the maritime inhabitants and the desert dwellers. Between the supporters of pan-Arabism and the local nationalists. Among the various nationalisms, and among not only rival but also neighboring ideologies. Between those who would like to make Cairo the capital of the Arab world and those who would establish that capital in Bagdad, Riyadh or Algiers. Between the religious and the lay factions. Between the Moslems and the non-Moslems. Among the Moslems themselves, the opposition between the Sunnites and the Shiites is creating tensions in the area of the Persian Gulf, while the advocates of the integrity of Islam are divided for their part into conservatives faithful to the princes on the Arab peninsula and the revolutionaries, the one faction fired by the preachings of Qadhafi, and the other by Khomeyni.

Inadequate State Structures

There is one explanation and one only for this kaleidoscope, insofar as the word suffices: The Orient is not yet equipped with solid state structures, within frontiers which would be to use the traditional expression, "certain and recognized." The experience in the Balkans, to which this case is comparable in terms of so many aspects, shows that in such a situation, only clearly established hegemony can guarantee peace. Now that of the Sublime Porte (the Turkish government) collapsed following World War I, and that of Great Britain and France which had taken over, not without a battle between them, did not long survive World War II. The local candidates for hegemony manifested themselves one after the other: The Iraqi Nuri Said acting in fact on behalf of London and Washington, the Egyptian Gamal Abdel Nasser, the Libyan Qadhafi and, today, which explains their rivalries, the Syrian Hafiz al-Assad and the Iraqi Saddam Husayn. But none, to date, has succeeded in his effort. As to the USSR and the United States, they have not succeeded either in enrolling the countries in the region under their banners, nor sharing them in clear and enduring fashion as they did in another era in Europe.

Thus there are states, but they do little but rally together human groups foreign one to the other, and above all motivated by group egotism, or put in another way, tribal reflexes, as is routinely seen whenever one feels its existence threatened. There is nothing pejorative in this statement: It was the SUNDAY TIMES which, referring to Ireland, wrote some years ago that all of mankind was returning to tribalism. Similarly, in the Orient the government often comes down to the domination of one group over the others: yesterday the Christians over the Moslems in Lebanon, today the Sunnite minority over the Shiites and Kurds in Iraq, the Alid minority over the other ethnic groups in Syria, the Ashkenazim who came from Europe over the Eastern Jews (Sephardim) and the Israeli Arabs, the Persian Shiites over the empire of Iran, where the foreign Turkish, Azerbaijani, Baluchi, Kurdish, Arab and Sunnite elements are counted in the millions. The state authorities automatically exposed to challenge, peaceful or violent, its predominance being unanimously recognized almost nowhere.

In an interesting article in the periodical FUTURIBLES, Olivier Carre, speaking of the Arab national renaissance, commented that there were at the beginning "three levels of the Arab national movement in terms of origin, three loyalties of a national sort--Islamic, Arab and local." To which, in his view, there was later added a "national state feeling" resulting in the division of the Umma, of the Arab nation, into a number of states. To be complete, it would doubtless be necessary to add to Carre's list another loyalty, this one more ideological, toward the Third World to which every Arab, and more generally every Moslem, however rich or reactionary he may be, belongs, it would seem justified to say, in the depths of his heart, if only because he is persuaded, quite

rightly in the vast majority of cases, that he owes nothing of what he is to any sudden benevolence on the part of a Westerner, but solely to the fact that he could by force, by ruse or thanks to circumstances wrest it from him. Riyadh is not the last capital where this has been noted.

It is too often believed that a man who has attended European or American universities, who has become familiar with our languages and our culture becomes sufficiently imbued with them to be won over, to a great extent, to the values and the way of life they express. This is an error: He possesses a deepened knowledge of our world, much greater than that which with but a few exceptions we have of his world, and often he acquires a taste for the advantages of all kinds this world offers him so long as he has the money. He drinks alcohol, takes his wife out in public, sometimes admits to his friends that he has ceased to practice his religion. But his true roots, those which are the source of his identity, remain hidden in the depths of Dar-el-Islam, that vast part of the world where one learns in the cradle that God is God, that His prophet is called Mohammed, and that all the rest is but idolatry and illusion. There are some among the Arab immigrants who have settled in Western Europe or in America who have become integrated in the society within which they live to the point of forgetting their origins: conversion, mixed marriage, naturalization have helped. But there are not very many. Moreover, Christianity has never really taken root in Islamic territory.

Nor has communism either. John Foster Dulles was not wrong in seeing the Koran as one of the most formidable barriers ever opposed to its extension. For the Moslems, the USSR or China may be an ally in fact against Western imperialism, but there is no question of taking their independence from them. China was the first to understand this, being very active at one time in the Persian Gulf area, but apparently acting with great caution today. As to the Soviets, one can feel their frustration and mistrust of these people with whom one cannot, as is one of their dearest traditions, drink companionably. They have the impression they are being mocked, in particular by the Egyptians, the Sudanese and the Somali, whom they once plied with generous aid, for which they were thanked by being shown the door. The renewal of an Islam which they regard as but the vestige of a ridiculous superstition catches their basic materialism short: As seen from Moscow, the imam Khomeyni must seem like a totally aberrant individual, whatever service he may have rendered by plunging the Western world into an unprecedented confusion, thanks to the reduction in oil deliveries and the holding of the hostages at the American Embassy. And they cannot for all that ignore the encouragement he gave the Afghan mountain people who rebelled against the communist regime and the Soviet occupation.

The Moslems, Members of the Third World First

And this is what one must indeed be clear about at the outset. The Arabs and in a more general way all Moslems are for the most part members of the Third World first and foremost. The quarrels of the super-powers do not interest them, and if they try on occasion to make use of them to their advantage, they are well aware that they must not allow themselves to become involved at any price. It is no happenstance that there is still so much admiration in the Orient today for General de Gaulle. Their philosophy with regard to the "great powers" is exactly what his was, best expressed in the course of the talk he had with Leonid Brezhnev in the course of his visit to Moscow in 1966.

"I want to tell you, Mr Secretary General, how much we appreciate the support we have had from the Soviets in helping us resist American pressure when it seemed excessive." And he went on, when the secretary general in question expressed gratification, "Just as we are pleased to have the Americans with us to resist what might be excessive Soviet pressure."

The great powers took some time to realize it, but they must know it well now: A clear determination exists to make use of them, but there is no less determination to avoid being placed in their service.

John Foster Dulles, quoted above, was very wrong when, urged by his basic mania for treaties, he wanted to recruit the Moslems for his anti-Soviet crusade, using the Bagdad Pact, closely linking four Moslem countries, Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan, with Great Britain and the United States, to complete the network of alliances designed to do what Kennan called "containing" and the Russians called "encircling" the Soviet Union.

The effects are now before us. The USSR, which in the time of Stalin sponsored the birth of Israel, along with the United States, and subsequently confined itself to a wise caution with regard to the Near East, has put all its weight on the side of the Arabs in their quarrel with the Hebrew nation. A clear anti-American sentiment has spread throughout the whole of the Arab world, which was rather more inclined at the beginning toward the United States, because it, pursuing the Roosevelt line, had contributed greatly to its emancipation. The law of escalation and easy comparisons came into play, and very soon in Washington and elsewhere Nasser, Ben Bella and a number of other Arab leaders were viewed as mere agents of Soviet imperialism, while all they wanted to do was to use the support of Moscow to complete the liquidation of Western domination and its symbols.

A listing of the errors, the threats, the crises, indeed the wars which have resulted would take pages. The Bagdad Pact was abandoned first of

all by Iraq, which lived under the symbol of the most determined radicalism after the fall of the monarchy in 1958, and then by Pakistan, disappointed at being unable to rely on the aid of its allies in its clash with India, and finally by Iran, which from a privileged partner of the United States in the region became in the blink of an eye the spearhead of opposition to its influence, described as "satanic."

There remains Turkey, which is in any case an Atlantic Pact signatory, although the efficiency of its role is offset by its antagonism with another NATO-member nation, Greece, in connection with Cyprus and the continental shelf in the Aegean. Of all the members of an organization now 30 years old, no one is unaware that it is this nation which has experienced the most serious difficulties on the triple political, economic and domestic security levels. Kemalism, or in other words modernization at a forced pace through secularization and the imitation of Western measures, in the final analysis failed everywhere, as Paul-Marc Henry very clearly showed in an article in LE MONDE. Not only in Iran and Afghanistan where Reza Shah, the father of the last emperor, and Nazir Shah had unconcealed admiration for Kemal Ataturk, but on the very sites of the Ghazi triumph.

The USSR experienced serious disappointments along the Nile, where it had rashly thought it could behave as if on conquered territory. It nonetheless retains strong positions in the region, if only because it is the supplier of weapons, on a priority or exclusive basis, for Syria, Iraq, Libya, Algeria and Ethiopia, which obviously gives it certain means of pressure upon them.

Having learned from the Egyptian, Sudanese and Somali experience, as to the inconstancy and faithlessness of leaders who were not trained in its harsh school, the Kremlin has gone farther since 1978. It installed its own men, declared communists, in power in Aden and Kabul. In the case of Afghanistan, it did not hesitate to intervene massively and to impose a new government by force, since that of Hafizullah Amin was incapable of dealing with a widespread rebellion. In doing so, the Soviets alienated the sympathy of many in the Arab world, already very seriously displeased by their alinement with the Ethiopians against the Moslems in Eritrea. A supplementary argument for all of those who, more or less inspired by Beijing, are reiterating that Soviet imperialism in the end is no better than the American version. The US, however, has finally disillusioned its most faithful allies in the region, the oil potentates of the Gulf, by proving incapable of defending those under its protection in Saigon and Tehran, and abandoning, although not forced to do so, the Taiwan regime. And above all it has committed the crime of imposing on Egypt and Israel a separate peace, which leaves untouched the Palestinian problem, that "cancer," to quote the term used in THE ECONOMIST, which is bound to erode any agreement which does not provide the solution to it.

Two Peoples, One Country

Of the thousand and one problems in the region, it must indeed be admitted in fact that there is none in which the solution seems in the abstract more simple or which in practice is more complicated. If each were to decide finally to accept the existence of the other, everything would work out as if by magic. Alas, that is not exactly the case. Two peoples, both equally persuaded of the legitimacy of what they demand, claim the same country, the same "too much promised land," to use the expression coined by David Ben-Gurion, called by one, according to its Biblical name, Eretz Israel, while the other calls it Palestine, using a word which was employed by the Romans but which had ceased to designate any political entity, until just after World War I when it came time to divide the spoils of the Ottoman Empire.

In fact, whatever may be claimed, neither of the antagonists has but a portion of full legitimacy. Israel enjoys the *de jure* recognition of the majority of the nations on the earth following the United Nations decision in 1947 designed to divide Palestine into two states, Jewish and Arab. But its frontiers are not those of the division. In the 1948 version which the leaders gave assurance that, for security reasons, and very convincing to be sure, they did not want to and could not accept definitively they follow the cease-fire lines established after the war of independence. They are not covered by any international agreement, even though Resolution 242 of the Security Council is implicitly based on their acceptance. It was in violation of the United Nations resolutions that the Jewish state annexed the Jewish part of Jerusalem, in that same year, 1948, because the resolutions called for the internationalization of the Holy City, and this is indeed why the majority of the foreign embassies are still located in Tel Aviv, and not in the city Israel regards as its capital. The same is the case, and to an even greater extent, with the territories occupied since the 1967 war, the evacuation of which this same Resolution 242 calls for in deliberately ambiguous terms, emphasized by the disparity between the French version (*des territoires occupés*) and the English version (*from occupied territories*), in which the article which would prove indisputably that it was indeed a matter of all of the territories in question is missing.

To speak the truth, the legitimacy of their nation for the Israeli Jews is far less the result of the United Nations vote than the achievement of what was for them for 19 centuries in exile simultaneously a prayer, a duty and a promise—the return of the people who regard themselves as chosen by God to the only land over which they had ever exercised sovereignty. "Next Year in Jerusalem." Who would dare oppose the divine word written in the Bible? Who would dare dispute the right of the survivors of genocide to have as their own a land in which they could live safe from persecution and welcome those of their brothers who in turn might be threatened?

All of this is the product of a conviction acquired at the cost of an interminably painful experience. As Golda Meir was to say on one occasion in an interview granted to LE MONDE: "Throughout all of history there have always been persecuted Jews. In the rest of the world, mankind has been divided in two. A minority approved of the persecutors, while the majority condemned them. No one ever came to our aid." For centuries, the scattered Jews suffered persecution. The day came, with the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto in 1943, when they discovered that the victim, by fighting, could halt the tormentors, at least temporarily. It was at that moment that the state of Israel was truly born. The launching of Zionism by Theodore Herzl, the proclamation by means of which Lord Balfour promised the Jews a "national homeland" in Palestine in 1917, the feelings of remorse and indebtedness experienced by the Western countries with the discovery of the extent of the Nazi genocide would not have sufficed to guarantee the birth and survival of the Zionist state had the memory of Warsaw not inspired two generations of peasant soldiers, determined to go to any lengths to protect their homeland.

Unfortunately there is nothing in this language of a sort to persuade the Arabs. The United Nations resolutions? Apart from the fact that Israel--in all justice, let us say like the majority if not all the other nations--deliberately ignores those which do not suit it, they were approved in an era when the colonial powers still made the law and no Arab nation has ever sanctioned the creation of an Israeli entity on a territory which no one can dispute has been Arab for centuries. The promise of Yahweh to his people? The Koran, the only book they know, makes no mention of it. Nazi genocide? It has nothing to do with them. The obligation of the Western nations to make restitution to the Jew? Why should it be done at their expense, as Arabs?

Nor do they cast any more favorable view on the argument often put forth by the Israelis to the effect that they found in Eretz Israel unexploited land, which they often, moreover, paid for out of their own pockets and which they have developed. The answer given them is that to purchase ground has never sufficed to establish sovereignty, unless the previous owner expressly surrendered it, and that one could say as much of the colonial system, to which the Arabs have a ready tendency to compare the Israeli experience.

And they recall that hundreds of thousands of Palestinians once lived in and thus from these lands, before fleeing the advance of the Haganah, the Jewish army which emerged suddenly from clandestinity in 1948. They left voluntarily, deceived by Arab propaganda, the Israeli propagandists reply. That is partially true but what cannot be challenged is that the Israelis have never let them come back again. It is hardly surprising then that on the one side one hears talk of expropriation, while on the other the talk is exclusively of security measures.

There is no shortage of space in the Arab world, the Israelis say. Just move over a little. In this connection we have seen the Palestinians crowd into refugee camps financed and organized by the United Nations, which could be said to have been the cradle of their fatherland, a veritable culture medium for their national identity. Today, thanks in part to the education provided in the camps, and also thanks to the studies which the Palestinians who stayed on their land have been able to pursue in Israeli or Arab schools and universities, the Palestinians represent the most educated sector of the Arab nation. By virtue of this fact, they hold key technical, political, administrative and financial posts in various of the Gulf countries, from Kuwait to Abu Dhabi.

Thus the Palestinians have within a whole series of Arab countries particularly powerful, convincing and skillful advocates for their cause. It is a cause simple and easy to summarize: that of a people whose space has been taken, in some way or another, and demanding that they be returned, or rather given, a homeland. For a long time, however, their claims were given only lip service. For many of the Arab government leaders, the Palestinians were basically a hindrance, friends whose constant recourse to the blindest sort of terrorism made them a particular embarrassment, doctrinaire factions with a progressive, if not Marxist, penchant, who challenged the traditional structures of Islam. But the support given by the USSR to the PLO to counteract the resurgence of US influence in the region, the major subsidies obtained from various oil producing states, the coming of age of a whole generation of young men raised in the camps, educated and ready, like their Israeli adversaries, to go to any lengths to achieve their goals, led to more and more spectacular and determined actions. One can clearly see that this did not entirely suit the Arab governments, with little desire to draw Israeli fire, as revealed by the establishment of refugee organizations both in Jordan, with the sadly notorious Black September in 1971, and in Syria, with the establishment of the Saika, the sole purpose of which was to bring the refugees situated on its territory under the authority of Damascus.

Thus hunted, pursued and subjected, the Palestinians were quite naturally likely to choose the weakest state in the region, because it is the smallest, the least well-armed, and the most heterogeneous--Lebanon--to establish themselves permanently and develop bases from which to launch their attacks upon Israel. Only by a miracle, after the civil war in 1958, was that nation able to reestablish a minimum of national unity, based on such an unstable balance among its Maronite, Orthodox, Sunnite, Shiite, Armenian, Druze, and other population factions that it was decided once and for all not to take any further census counts, for fear of being forced to modify a particularly subtle and complicated system of proportional distribution of the effective government power.

The Lebanese government soon found itself faced with a situation which was entirely beyond it. Relying on local "progressive Islamic" elements, the refugees converted their camps into fortresses, patrolled the roads, and hardly troubled to conceal the desire to establish a regime in Beirut which would support their ambitions. The Lebanese cabinet tried in vain, having recourse to various types of mediation, to negotiate a modus vivendi with them. Finally the civil war broke out, one of the bloodiest seen in this century. Syria profited from it to establish its de facto protectorate over a country whose independence it had never entirely accepted, while the Christians took refuge in two sections of Beirut and to the south of the Litani, where they openly profited from Israeli aid.

The Oil Weapon

Thus at first glance, the Palestinians seem to be more circumscribed than ever, and committed to effecting against Israel only the terrorist attacks which frustrate but do not truly test it. Thus they are spreading throughout the world a very negative image of the PLO, which moreover often disavows this or that activity for which extremist branches are responsible. It is beyond denial, however, that the Palestinian cause has gained ground in the course of recent years, and for three reasons. The first, let us not deceive ourselves, is called oil. Since the 1973 war, the Arabs have discovered that it can be used as a means of exerting pressure. The threat of an embargo based on immediate quota measures and price increases enabled them to convert the Egyptian-Syrian military defeat into an undeniable political victory. The majority of the nations in the industrialized world import a large part of the energy they consume.

In the case of the Sudan, the proportion reaches 90 percent. It is not surprising that it should be this country, in anguish at the thought of being suddenly paralyzed, which aligned itself most rapidly and most completely in the winter of 1973-74 with the Arab positions in the Palestinian conflict.

In that same era, the majority of public opinion in various European countries, in particular the Netherlands, and even in France, rallied to the cause of the Jewish state, the existence of which had never seemed in such peril since 1948. The fact remained that, led by France, the majority of the member nations of the EEC ignored the appeals for solidarity launched from Washington, even going so far, in the case of the FRG, as to refuse to allow the planes in the improvised airlift for Israel to land, giving priority to regular delivery of oil supplies. General de Gaulle wrote in his war memoirs that "In the club of great nations, I found as many sacred egos as there were registered members." He need not have worded it any differently had his temperament led him to frequent the club of average nations instead.

Little by little, indeed, the erosion of the dollar has cancelled out a part of the effects of the oil price increase, and since experience teaches nothing, people let themselves believe that the days of abundant and cheap energy had returned. This was a terrible self-deception, with the majority of the producer countries beginning to concern themselves seriously with the steady exhaustion of their reserves and the almost total lack on the part of their partners of any policy to reduce consumption or invest massively in industries consuming little energy or energy from other sources. It was while this was going on that the news, long expected moreover, of the fall of the shah burst like a bomb, followed by the decision made by Khomeyni early in 1979 to reduce Iranian exports of crude to two million barrels per day. Panic seized the West, causing the quotations on the free market, not to mention the black market, in Rotterdam to climb in just a few days to \$35 a barrel (as compared to an average price of \$1.40 at the beginning of the decade), and leading to a general rise in less than a year of almost 70 percent.

The policy of the United States, on which Israel depends as the heart depends on the lungs, was seriously affected. Although the United States itself has vast fossil energy reserves, in particular coal, the fact that this nation leads all others in the production of nuclear electricity, and that the schist in the West can provide it with large quantities of oil, provided the price can be paid, and there is not too much concern about ecology, the country was unwilling to follow Nixon when he sought in 1971 to set up a plan to guarantee independence in energy. Quite the contrary, US dependence on oil imports never ceased to increase, for lack of nothing but courage.

Under these conditions, the Arabs had if they wanted, at least on paper, the means of literally forcing the Americans to exert the pressure necessary on Israel to make it accept the basic aspect of the Arab theses. It goes without saying that if men who shared the hostility of the Libyan, Algerian or Iranian leaders were in power in Riyadh, Abu Dhabi or Kuwait, they would certainly not refrain from using it. But the feudal lords on the Arab peninsula are fearful of the boomerang effects of such an attitude. Whatever the irritation they may feel toward the White House, guilty of supporting their indomitable Jewish adversary, they are well aware that their own authority, without American support, would be singularly threatened. The fall of the shah reminded them that thrones are not eternal. The besieging of the great mosque in Mecca in November 1979 by several hundred revolutionaries rallying in support of a new reincarnation of the Mahdi, the prophet of the last days, showed that danger was approaching. There was no question then for the time being of irritating the United States, already subjected by Khomeyni's challenge to such a harsh test.

The fact remains that matters would become singularly easier for Washington if the Israelis were to announce that they had finally become

"reasonable," providing it with some arguments to persuade the hesitant or skeptical Arabs that the dynamics of peace created by Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and the signing of the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty could lead rapidly to a possible solution of the Palestinian problem.

For the time being, it is the other path that Begin has chosen. Wholly indifferent to the imprecations of the outer world, imposing the austerity of an entrenched camp on the people, he operates from the principle that because of Egypt's defection, Israel no longer is greatly threatened on the military level. Syria, deeply committed in Lebanon, would not alone be able to match the Jewish army which remains, and by far, the strongest in the region. In order for it to pose any real threat, it would be necessary for its forces to be joined with those of Iraq. The reconciliation in early 1979 gave a certain plausibility to this hypothesis for a time. But this threat has now been dispelled. If there is a threat of war in the region, it would seem to be rather on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Either if the hostage affair leads to American intervention in the end, or if Bagdad, with vast superiority, in view of the disorganization of the Iranian army since the revolution, decides to put an end to a regime which creates such temptations for the Shiites of Iraq, and keeps the Arabs in Kurdistan under its iron rule. Or else if the USSR decides to go on from Afghanistan toward warmer seas.

Israel, which hopes to be able to count, although it is now much divided, on the American-Jewish community, which always plays a capital role in an election year, has thus made it a principle not to yield an inch, and to adhere to the triple negative formulated by Menachem Begin after the signing of the peace with Sadat: No to the Palestinian state, no to the ceding of the Jordanese left bank, and no to withdrawal from Arab Jerusalem. Under such conditions it is hard to see very clearly what the subject of negotiations could be. To speak the truth it is in fact surprising that Mr Begin, having won power, would agree to gradually return the Sinai to Egypt, since he constantly made his intransigence his banner, and with equal vigor attacked the governments which preceded him, all of which in his eyes were guilty of congenital weakness. But without a doubt he has been the only one who could afford the luxury of peace with Egypt. Anyone who had yielded even a quarter of what he agreed to on this occasion would have earned his invective. The fact remains that to go farther would no longer be a matter of a truly foreign African territory, but what is in Mr Begin's view a part of the Biblical heritage of Israel, in other words an amputation to the very flesh of Eretz Israel. This he will not do.

Can others, if they so determine? The strength of the Arabs is that they have in their favor time, space and numbers. In their thinking Israel is but a thorn in the flesh, an imbedded irritation which, like the free kingdom of Jerusalem in the past, cannot hope to escape the classic phenomenon of rejection. They can clearly see that oil and

Israeli intransigence assisting, public opinion is much less hostile toward them than in the past. Yasser Arafat, in whom the Israelis can see nothing but a murderer, a great highway bandit, spoke from the rostrum in the United Nations, and was officially welcomed in Vienna--by Foreign Minister Kreisky (a Jew)--and in Madrid, and subsequently in various other capitals in the European Community and in Tokyo. In the United States, John Connally, a republican candidate for the presidency and with close links it is true with the oil lobby, was quite willing to create a bit of a scandal by proposing a plan for settling the Near East conflict which gives considerable weight to Palestine as a fact.

The American Decline

The two other reasons, in addition to oil, for which the cause of Palestine has gained ground recently can be more briefly summarized. We have witnessed first of all the establishment of a "progressive" regime in Tehran, deeply engaged in the struggle against Israel, replacing a regime which cooperated closely with it, even in the realm of intelligence and police work. Not only will the PLO benefit henceforth from a major financial contribution from Iran, thus decreasing to that extent its dependence on its other backers--Arab oil producers and the Soviet Union, but also Yasser Arafat can congratulate himself on playing the role of honest courier between the Imam Khomeyni and the emirs of the Persian Gulf. It is true that he was not so pleased when, having offered his good offices in the matter of the hostages held at the American Embassy in Tehran, and having obtained from Washington agreement in principle from which he hoped to derive great advantage in his battle with Israel, he found himself brusquely shown the door by the imam. But this in no way diminishes the profound solidarity which now unites the Islamic republic and the Palestinian resistance.

And finally, naturally, one must not overlook the extent of the decline of American influence in the region, which is but the reflection of its universal decline. Overtaken if not surpassed in the nuclear weaponry sector by the Soviet Union, whose sizeable fleet now moves with full impunity through the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean, the United States can no longer allow itself to rely solely on the presence of its forces to determine the outcome of an Israeli-Arab clash, such as occurred in 1967, with a quasi-ultimatum to the Kremlin from Johnson, and in 1973, with the famous nuclear alert ordered by Nixon and Kissinger. It is not of the question for the Americans to intervene, as they did without firing a single shot in the Lebanese civil war in 1958. Nor can the CIA be expected to mount a "mass mobilization" operation comparable to that which brought the shah back from his brief Romanian exile in 1953.

Mr Carter has had to watch, without turning a hair, the collapse of the regime his predecessors had thought they could make the guardian of the

Gulf. An overarmed giant, with the means at its disposal to blow up the planet several times over, the United States has found itself paralyzed by the holding of its embassy staff in Tehran as hostages by a group of bearded and overexcited Moslems. If Carter has not responded with force, it is not only because he saw very clearly that, as matters stood, the chances of liberating the hostages unharmed were almost nonexistent. It is also because he feared that the slightest act of war against Iran's territory or oil might cause a chain reaction throughout an indignant Moslem world. One has only to look at the incidents which developed when the mystifying reports to the effect that the United States attacked the great mosque in Mecca began to spread, or the dramatic conditions under which the American diplomats in Islamabad escaped the fire in their embassy, practically without intervention by the local authorities.

To top it all, the foreign ministries must from now on await, from one month to the next, the explosion of the first "Moslem" bomb, the product of the cooperation between Pakistan and Colonel Qadhafi's Libya. Now, given this technological and military triumph, frustrating the efforts of the great powers to prevent proliferation, could the disciples of the Prophet fail to feel transported by a feeling of pride and exaltation, seeing here a sign that dependence and subjection to the will of Western imperialism are definitely coming to an end?

The Israeli leaders are not so blind as to be unaware of this change in depth. For 30 years they have sought to persuade the world to adapt itself to an accomplished fact. To balance the Arab pressure, they have always sought out friends. The USSR, France, and even, for a few months or weeks in 1956, Great Britain, have been among them. Iran, too, and Ethiopia, which have today switched sides. Outside South Africa, where the racism justifiably horrifies the Israelis, they can hardly count today on support except for the United States. That nation, with Mr Carter, has demonstrated how much weight it was willing to bring into play to lead Israel and Egypt to reach agreement. In view of the change in the factors in the political world which have occurred since the end of the war in Vietnam and the beginning of the oil war, it would be surprising if once the crucial presidential election is behind them, they did not return to the task, directing the bulk of their pressure this time toward Israel. We will hear talk again of the Masada fortress, and the rebellious zealots who fought till the last man was massacred, in the year 135 A.D., rather than submit again to the Roman yoke.

In truth the existence of Israel is too large a factor in the world status quo to imagine that it could be challenged again without leading our planet to the brink of world war. And the image of the temple Samson brought crashing down on the Philistines who had violated it is as much present as the image of Masada in the collective psychology. But the murky seductive aspect of these suicidal invocations is but

momentary, and cannot obscure the depths of the need for peace felt by these people exhausted by history, and who indeed would like to sleep one night without having to listen for the steps of terrorists, the whine of missiles or the drone of bombers. Why, if this has become possible elsewhere, particularly in Europe, so accustomed moreover for centuries to periodic internecine slaughter, could it not happen in the Orient? Why, in the name of what, as the result of what curse is it impossible for an awareness of mutual interest finally to win out one day over distrust, hatred and scorn, among these Jews, these Moslems, these Christians who claim to believe in the same God?

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CSO: 4800

ARAB COUNTRIES 'CANNOT SUPPORT IRAN WHEN IT IS WRONG'

LD301647 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 30 Apr 80 p 5

[Article by Jihad al-Khazin: "Iran and the Question of Extremism"]

[Text] Observers were not surprised when they saw that the overwhelming majority of the American people supported the military operation to rescue the hostages even after it had failed. President Carter had, in fact, remained circumspect and did not involve himself in anything until he felt that all diplomatic avenues had been closed in his face.

American and general Western support for President Carter will most probably grow since the American television networks have screened pictures of Ayatollah Khomeini picking up the bodies of the American soldiers.

Regarding this subject, it is important for the Iranian Government to understand that President Carter is not pursuing an unpopular policy by escalating the pressure on Iran, and that the unpopular aspect of his policy is his extreme caution hitherto.

The Iranian regime is behaving as if President Carter is isolated in his attempt to secure the release of the hostages and is, therefore, exploiting the failure of the military operation by embarking on a diplomatic campaign to enlist Islamic and Third World countries' support for the Iranian stand against the Carter administration.

It is more than likely that this Iranian campaign will not succeed in gaining much support. It certainly will not resolve the hostage crisis. The small states, whether in the Gulf or elsewhere, have now become apprehensive of the economic and military repercussions this crisis will have on them. Therefore, they want a quick solution before a real disaster befalls everybody.

The key to the solution which will avert a disaster in the area and the world remains in Iran's hands, but the Iranian regime appears to be insisting on pursuing regional and international policies which have gained it the enmity of many countries and which endanger its own security by the presence of the Soviet forces on its common border with Afghanistan.

It is hoped that the Iranian leaders will revise their calculations to see where they went wrong and where they were right, and try to establish a new basis for their dealings with neighboring and other countries, because it is not logical to think that Iran is right and the whole world is wrong.

The Arab states wish to build strong relations of cooperation and friendship with Iran. They believed that, after the downfall of the shah, Iran would restore its cooperation with its neighbors on the grounds of religion, fraternity and geography, but it happened that the honeymoon was short and was followed by stands that serve no one.

The dispute with Iraq is only one example of the difficulty of dealing with the ruling Iranian regime, which appears capable of behaving in a manner that can least be described as unusual, like declaring the occurrence of a military coup and the death of President Saddam Husayn and insisting on it, as Foreign Minister Sadeq Qotbzadeh has done at his press conference in Damascus.

The Arabs, who are still hopeful of building strong bridges of cooperation with Iran are at a loss vis-a-vis this stand, just as they are at a loss with regard to the taking of the American hostages, because they cannot support Iran when it is wrong. They will definitely support it if it resolves its difficulties, releases the hostages and resorts to reason on its foreign policy in general, so as to frustrate the designs of the enemies of the Arabs and Muslims.

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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

SAUDI, GULF PAPERS COMMENT ON U.S. OPERATIONS IN IRAN

JN261204 Manama GULF NEWS AGENCY in Arabic 0910 GMT 26 Apr 80

[Text] Manama, 26 Apr--Today's Gulf papers comment on the abortive U.S. operation to rescue the hostages at the U.S. Embassy in Teheran.

The Saudi paper AL-MADINAH says: It is better for the Americans to understand that the safety of their hostages will be guaranteed by not involving them in an adventure of uncertain consequences to their lives and world peace.

Another Saudi paper, AL-RIYAD, expresses its fears over the serious effects of this U.S. operation on the fate of the hostages and the future of U.S. President Carter, who is now trying by every means to justify the failure and to prepare for another attempt which, we believe, will not be successful for several political and military reasons.

Another Saudi paper, AL-JAZIRAH, calls upon the United States and Iran to exercise the highest degree of self-restraint and says: It is not too late yet to continue diplomatic efforts to solve the hostages issue peacefully.

The UAE paper, AL-ITTIHAD says: "What happened yesterday was a warning and an ultimatum to the United States, Iran, the region and the whole world as well as an appeal for action to be taken to find a way out of the impasse."

The paper adds: This is not the time to issue a condemnation but a warning about the potentially dangerous situation which could go up in flames at any time.

The UAE paper, AL-FAJR, warns of the danger of the next phase and says: U.S. President Carter will not hesitate to commit another act which, this time, might be even more violent and dangerous. This is a possibility which we must not overlook.

The Kuwaiti paper, AL-WATAN, says: This U.S. policy is not the personal style of the current master of the White House, but is the style of the American cowboy, that human model who wants to rule the world and subject it to his interests in the same way that he runs his own ranch.

Another Kuwaiti paper, AL-QABAS, says: The U.S. President is one of those politicians who have managed to do themselves more harm than others. For instance, he antagonized Moscow by his miscalculation and short-sightedness over the policy of detente, and he antagonized Europe, the Arabs and the Islamic world by his mishandling of the Middle East and Afghanistan crises.

A third Kuwaiti paper, AL-ANBA', calls on Iran to cooperate with the Arab states in the Gulf "to prevent the area from becoming a battlefield, which will not serve our interests or the interests of Iran."

A fourth Kuwaiti paper, AL-SIYASAH, warns against creating a world war atmosphere and says: "The circumstances are propitious unless matters are tackled with great wisdom."

The Qatari paper AL-'ARAB asserts: "What is of prime concern to us in this whole issue is its effect on the security and stability of the area, such as involving the area in conflicts and conflagrations to which the countries of the area do not want to be a party."

CSO: 4820

ARAB LEAGUE ISSUES STATEMENT ON IRANIAN EVENTS

LD301005 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 29 Apr p 2

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT Report: "Klibi Defines Arab League Attitude Toward Recent Iranian Events"]

[Text] London--The Arab League in London has distributed a statement by Arab League Secretary General Chedli Klibi defining the league's attitude toward Iranian events and the abortive U.S. operation as follows:

The Arab League attitude since the beginning of the Iranian-U.S. crisis has always been clear and frank. This attitude is dictated by the need to ensure stability in the area and avert the danger of war by seeking to remove causes of tension in the area. Our attitude, which we expressed in our speech at the General Assembly, has been oriented toward the need to find a humanitarian and peaceful solution to the hostages problem as well as to deeply understand the Iranian people's right to protect their country against any foreign interference.

Today in the light of the new developments in the area we find it our duty to stress the following:

1. The need to activate UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim's initiative and to further clarify the task of the fact-finding mission and the terms of reference of the Secretariat General in this case. We believe that this is the only way to prevent a recurrence of the military adventure which took place today and to block the path to the military option and to its consequences, which would definitely lead to the exacerbation of tension in the area and might lead to unforeseeable consequences.
2. In view of all the eventualities it is necessary to preserve Arab detente with the aim of achieving greater coordination among the Arab states so that developments in the situation in the area will not present an opportunity to disrupt the Arab rank.
3. We are all committed to safeguarding the internal situation in the Arab homeland and protecting the sovereignty and preserving the national unity of every Arab state.

4. We reassert our commitment to the policy of nonalignment as the only means capable of ensuring immunity for our countries and averting the risks of international polarization resulting from the possibility of the renewal of cold war. We believe that coming developments make it incumbent upon us all in the Arab homeland to show greater solidarity and compel us to move as one big group capable of shouldering the responsibility of a joint Arab action responsive to the dictates of legitimate national priorities and also compatible with the necessities of world peace.

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KUWAIT PAPER ASSAILS OMAN FOR ALLOWING U.S. FACILITIES

LD250937 Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 21 Apr 80 pp 1, 19

[Editorial: "The Gulf Security and the Sultanate Bases"]

[Excerpts] Since it was decided in international and U.S. quarters that the Gulf area is to be turned into a regional and international area of tension all the countries of the region have said time and again that the Gulf security is the responsibility of its own countries. These countries also stressed their rejection of any foreign presence on their territories, particularly since the U.S. onslaught in search of military bases and facilities on the area.

But it appears that the Sultanate of Oman adopted a different attitude and allowed the United States to establish military bases or obtain facilities for the U.S. fleets on Omani territory. And this means that Arab rejection of U.S. plans in the Gulf has been thwarted and completely undermined because the United States does not need more than one or two positions for its forces in order to be able to dominate the area.

Therefore, since Oman has dissented from Arab unanimity, the Arab rejection has become meaningless because U.S. forces have established a foothold in the sultanate.

Consequently, the Omani decision, although in theory concerning only the sultanate itself, constitutes a violation of the sovereignty and independence of all the neighboring countries. Therefore, the rejection [of U.S. bases] by these Arab countries must consequently be followed by positive action by them to prevent the sultanate from allowing the establishment of U.S. military bases, which in addition to imposing U.S. hegemony, would be a source of danger to the other countries, particularly the Soviet Union which, in the case of war for example, would strike at the enemy bases. In other words, this area would become the battlefield for a war with which it has nothing to do.

Moreover, the presence of U.S. bases in the area would lead to popular uprisings and to a state of unrest which the area can do without. The Americans, as everybody knows, are hated and represent a terrible symbol of domination, plundering and oppression of peoples.

United States' bases in any country are not bases for knowledge nor are they branches of Harvard University. They are merely positions for oppression, for the exacerbation of backwardness, suppression of ambitions, killing growth, and murdering freedom.

Moreover, what favor has the United States done us to make us open our lands to it and allow it to establish bases there. We are amazed that even a single Arab could do a deal with it without feeling ashamed of himself or embarrassed.

CSO: 4820

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

PETROLEUM WORKERS ANTI-MONOPOLISTIC CONFERENCE IN TRIPOLI

Subjects Discussed

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 9 Apr 80 p 5

[Article: "The Anti-Monopolistic Conference in Tripoli Has Stressed the Right of Labor Unions to Assume Responsibility for this Sector. African Federation of Petroleum Workers to Be Created Soon. Practices of the Multinational Companies Questioned." Passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] This conference has seen the participation of labor organization from all continents: Asia, Africa, America, Europe and Oceania.

Two hundred and fifty delegates from 56 countries represented 55 petroleum workers' unions, 6 international labor organizations and 44 delegations from national liberation organizations and democratic organizations, the attendance of which, as well as that of the Iranian oil minister, has been welcomed by the conference.

The delegates to the Fifth Conference have debated a question which lends itself to discussion:

"The struggles of petroleum workers and of the world's nations in their opposition to multinational oil companies, and the success they have achieved in pressing their economic and social demands and their emancipation, both of which were aimed at promoting nationalizations and the organization of a new economic order in the world."

/Concerning the responsibilities of oil monopolies/ who want to maintain their supremacy and to increase their tremendous profits, the delegates to the conference have demonstrated that multinational companies are:

- /Responsible/ for the present crisis in capitalist countries, hit by inflation, unemployment and industrial restrictions, of which workers are the victims.

- /Responsible/ for the mendacious attacks against oil-producing countries, against OPEC and more particularly against Arab countries.

- /Guilty/ of attempting to arouse against one another workers and the people in developing socialist and capitalist countries.

/The Fifth Conference has also heard about and considered the struggles/ of petroleum workers and the success they have achieved.

/Struggle and success/ of their demands concerning the right to work, the right to job training, the improvement of working conditions, better salaries, a reduction in working hours, and the workers' civil and union rights.

/Struggle and success/ against increasing occupational hazards, pollution and damage to the environment.

/Struggle and success/ against attempts on the sovereign rights of nations, against obstacles to the nationalization of petroleum-related activities.

Petroleum workers have achieved such success in developed capitalist countries as well as in developing countries not yet freed from imperialism and neocolonialism, after many struggles characterized by strikes and demonstrations.

In socialist countries and in oil-producing countries which have freed themselves from the yoke of multinational oil companies, workers have seen a decisive and durable improvement in their living and working conditions.

/The Fifth Conference has studied the joint action of petroleum workers' unions/ aimed at breaking the stranglehold of all-powerful multinational companies and achieving true cooperation and the transfer of technology. To permit a more thorough study of these questions, a symposium of union experts, both economists and engineers, organized by and within the conference, has studied the question of the new relations which should form between the countries and the people, as part of the new international economic order.

A mutually profitable cooperation between developed and developing countries should ensure the transfer of technology which will set aside all alienating forms of labor or of economic and scientific inferiority, whether inherited or maintained by multinational companies.

The delegates to the Fifth Conference have adopted the conclusions of the scientific symposium and have decided to include them in the final records of the conference.

In particular, these conclusions state that:

"Considering that technological mastery implies the ability, for a people, to be self-sufficient in producing capital goods, the symposium:

- has denounced transnational monopolies as the real obstacle to the acquisition of technological mastery by Third World countries;
- has denounced the increased technological dependence of Third World countries on international monopolies, which enables the latter to make considerable levies at the expense of Third World workers and nations;
- has concluded that technological mastery by Third World nations will require:
- a new international economic order (increased cooperation of Third World countries among themselves and with socialist countries, reorganization of the international market and removal of the dollar's supremacy);
- cohesion between the new international order and internal decisions concerning development methods and technological choices."

At a time when imperialism is threatening international detente and world peace with the gravest dangers, the joint action of all unions is more necessary than ever to ensure the irreversibility of the changes which have taken place since the Fourth Conference held in Baghdad in 1977, and which have benefited social progress, democracy, and the liberation and emancipation of the people (...)

The Fifth International Conference recommends that its standing committee begin considering the main lines of action it will have to develop as well as the immediate tasks it must accomplish.

/With respect to information,/ the development of interunion exchanges where antimonopolistic actions are concerned may enable us to be better armed, individually and collectively, in our struggle against multinational companies.

The joint action initiated by the standing committee to counteract imperialist propaganda must be continued and must take many forms.

We must ensure a large diffusion of our final proclamation among workers in our respective countries, we must give it a broad appeal and a popular character, we must make sure that the records of our conference are compiled and printed, and that they are used by international organizations and by our unions.

In addition, an exchange of information on multinational companies and their planning departments involved in the petroleum sector, and especially on their methods of penetration and plundering may serve to increase the unions' antimonopolistic watchfulness.

/To bring closer to the petroleum workers' unions/ countries which face similar problems with regard to energy, regional conferences adapted to these countries' own antimonopolistic struggle conditions could be organized.

/In each of our countries,/ each labor union must organize a joint action of petroleum workers, national liberation movements and nations struggling against repression and exploitation, colonialist and neocolonialist domination, racism, Zionism and imperialism.

For this, we must lead information campaigns demanding an embargo on petroleum product shipments to South Africa.

In addition, international days to demonstrate our support for the nations and workers engaged in this struggle could be organized by the standing committee, especially for the defense of union rights in Egypt, Brazil and Uruguay. As for Saudi Arabia, the Arab Emirates and Bahrain, we should demand the right to unionize for workers in these countries.

/With regard to the economy in our respective countries,/ the unions must propagate and promote this conference's recommendations in their national action, and especially:

- in developed capitalist countries: nationalization of the energy sector and implementation of energy policies which protect the interest of the nations and the future of mankind;
- in producing countries: taking over the production, shipment and processing of hydrocarbons, while at the same time promoting a policy of conservation of the deposits;
- the development of economic exchanges between Third World countries and socialist countries, on the one hand, and between Third World countries among themselves, on the other hand;
- a decreased use of the costly technical assistance of multinational companies and their planning departments.

/In the short term, the standing committee will have to help prepare two meetings which are important for the union movement and for petroleum workers:

- the World Trade-Union Conference on Development scheduled to take place in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in April 1980;
- the Ninth Petroleum Session of the International Labor Organization (ILO) which is to take place in Geneva, Switzerland, on 15-25 April 1980.

To permit the implementation of this program of action, the delegates to the Fifth Conference have decided to create a standing committee.

The standing committee includes representatives of petroleum workers' unions from the following countries: Algeria, Congo, Cuba, France, India, Irak, Jamahiriya Libya, Kuwait, Nigeria, Rumania, Turkey, USSR and Venezuela.

The standing committee shall have its office in Tripoli, in the People's Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

The Libyan petroleum workers' union shall be in charge of the standing committee's secretariat.

The delegates to the Fifth Conference cordially thank the Libyan petroleum, petrochemical and mining workers' union and the People's Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for their hospitality, and wish them full success in implementing their policy in the service of the people.

The delegates to the Fifth Antimonopolistic Conference of Petroleum Workers' Unions, at the close of their working session held in Tripoli on 26-30 March, call for progressive forces and workers all over the world to unite and take action:

- against multinational monopolies;
- against imperialism and all regimes of oppression;
- for peace and the social progress of the nations.

Federation Official Interviewed

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 9 Apr 80 p 5

[Interview with Mr Amar Lounis, general secretary of the National Federation of Energy, Chemical and Mining Industry Workers, head of the Algerian delegation, by members of the economic editor's staff; date and place not given]

[Text] The Fifth International Antimonopolistic Conference of Petroleum Workers' Unions, called by the standing committee appointed by the Fourth Conference in Baghdad (December 77) has shown a marked increase in the degree of maturity of petroleum workers in assuming responsibility for this sectors at all levels. This is an important victory at a time when the struggle against multinational companies and capitalism is intense, and when the latter multiply their efforts to create confusion and blame OPEC.

Mr Anar Lounis, general secretary of the National Federation of Energy, Chemical and Mining Industry Workers, head of the Algerian delegation, has given more detailed information on this to members of our economic editor's staff.

[Question] Information concerning the Tripoli conference seems to indicate that it has been a success. To what extent is this true?

[Answer] First, in that unity of thought and action has been achieved among the 250 union delegates present. All agreed that we must bar the way to imperialism, the strategy of which aims at finding a capitalistic solution to its present crisis, and to blame it on oil and OPEC.

The labor organizations represented have decided to lead a struggle to expose this strategy and fight it efficiently.

In this respect, it should be noted that one of the major political decisions of the conference has been that, from now on, labor movements, workers and nations shall have a say in the struggle for a new international economic order, which should no longer be led solely by their governments.

[Question] This presupposes that the means used in the struggle will be adapted to the present state of affairs, and especially it presupposes maturity in taking political, but also scientific, technological and economic responsibility for the workers' demands. As far as energy is concerned, do you believe that the unions represented have shown such maturity?

[Answer] Most certainly. And the best proof we can give is that, in addition to the meetings of the Fifth Antimonopolistic Conference, they have held a scientific and technical symposium to analyze on new terms the world economic situation, and to ensure maximum efficiency for their struggle toward a new international economic order.

Undeniably, today's labor unions are ready to confront the supporters of international capitalism even in the taboo fields which, until now, were reserved for technocrats. And this is the only possible way for them to defeat exploitation.

[Question] What will be the immediate impact of the conference?

[Answer] The wealth and intensity of the resolutions and debates have given a considerable scientific and revendicative importance to the conference. In the immediate, the results of the conference will be transmitted to the World Conference on Development to be held in Belgrade during the second half of April, and also to the United Nations.

where they will be studied at the special session on the new international economic order. In addition, these results will constitute the central platform of the coming session of the International Labor Organization (ILO).

The conference has also made it possible to decide the creation of an African Federation of Petroleum Workers, which is to be antimonopolistic and anti-imperialistic. A constitutive conference for this federation will be held in the coming months, and Algeria, among other things, is in charge of preparing the necessary documents.

[Question] What has been our country's contribution?

[Answer] All agree that it has been decisive in many respects.

The General Union of Algerian Workers and the Federation play an increasingly concrete role in helping workers assume responsibility for the antimonopolistic struggle. This shows the degree of maturity achieved by our workers and by the national union since the Fifth Congress of the General Union of Algerian Workers, as well as the progress accomplished by democratic forces in our country.

9294

CSO: 4400

U.S. ATTACKED AS MAJOR COMPONENT OF 'INTERNATIONAL IMPERIALISM'

Kabul ANIS in Dari 9 Apr 80 p 4

/Article: "Imperialism Is the Enemy of the Freedom of Peoples throughout the World"/

/Text/ Imperialism is the irreconcilable worldwide enemy of peoples, the enemy of the benefits and demands of the people and the enemy of independence, sovereignty and national pride of peoples. Imperialism defends the leftovers of oppression and colonialism. It resorts to different types of neoimperialism. It engages in direct military intervention and engages in conspiracies against progressive and national movements. It spends millions of dollars and pounds on eliminating and bringing down national and progressive regimes.

Imperialism places obstacles in the way of the political and economic independence of countries through collusion with the blackest reactionary circles. It tries to stop the world's countries' and peoples' progress along the road of non-capitalist growth and progressive orientation. It is the basic cause of backwardness and the lag behind the caravan of progress and civilization.

Imperialism is the enemy of the freedom and liberty of peoples throughout the world. Imperialism also encourages reactionary nationalism and destroys national spirit in order to create friction among developing nations. It uses the weapon of sowing dissension, fragmentation and creating rifts through its hireling agents.

In accordance with its inhuman nature, imperialism uses every kind of reactionary anti-progressive force in a broad manner to confront national movements, national interests and spread discord.

American imperialism is the helmsman of aggression and oppression in the world and with its ferocious brutal nature it is trying to turn the wheel of history through the quest for dominance and arms races to its greedy benefit and to reduce the progress and development of advanced humanity.

Imperialism, through inhuman characteristics produced by fascism and bloody dictatorship, causes wars and arms races, causes the destruction of independence and freedom of peoples and the democratic rights of people, and is responsible for the deprivation and suffering of millions of people. It is by fanning this fire that the great masses in Asia, Africa and Latin America are forced to live in conditions of poverty, sickness and illiteracy and under obsolete social relationships. In our era, it is becoming clearer day by day that the existence of imperialism and its accomplices is in contradiction with the vital interests of the physical and intellectual toilers, the interests of diverse social classes, the interests of nations and peoples, and the issue of the freedom, independence and welfare of peoples.

Conspiratorial American imperialism, the basic despoiler of the wealth of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, has been transformed into the biggest international exploiter, the main object of the support of all reactionary circles and the number one international gendarme. It is responsible for all warmongering, murder and plunder on the international stage.

However, in spite of all these futile struggles, the scope of life for imperialism is narrowing with each passing day on the domestic and on the international scene. With the ripening and interconnection of international forces, that is, the camp of peace and socialism, the national movements of salvation, and the tempestuous movement of the working class, the death of reactionary forces and international imperialism, headed by American imperialism, is coming closer.

Therefore, imperialism is noxiously trying to create a rift among the struggling ranks of these potent forces. It is for this reason that American imperialism is, by purchasing such apostate and treasonous elements as al-Sadat and the likes of him, trying to create a breach among the progressive and nationalist circles and movements of the nations of the world, including the Islamic ones. This activity is taking place through the CIA organization through the expenditure of billions of dollars.

It is certainly being proved to all the freedom-loving peoples of the world who are struggling for their liberation from the shackles of oppression and injustice that expansionist American imperialism and its Chinese, Israeli, Egyptian and Pakistani accomplices have taken a treasonous stance against the freedom of peoples contrary to all criteria of human rights.

The triumph of the April revolution and the transfer of political power from the hands of the tyrannical ruling class to the ruled and exploited classes have struck intense terror into American imperialism and its self-aggrandizing allies China, Israel, Egypt and Pakistan, who have ventured on military intervention in the domestic affairs of independent Afghanistan, contrary to the will of the tormented people of Afghanistan, by training bands of terrorists and agitators so that they may thereby be able to

perform good service for the exploitative and oppressive classes and confront the revolution of the people of Afghanistan with defeat.

However, fortunately, through the work and struggle of the brave, heroic people of Afghanistan and the fraternal, internationalist participation of the camp of salvation, the camp of peace and progress, these filthy, unclean desires of imperialism have become frustrated and the heroic people of Afghanistan once again have proudly and gloriously emerged from this great test and have obtained great honors on the national and international scene which have rained powerful, murderous blows upon the moribund body of imperialism and its lackeys in the region and the world.

11887

CSO: 4903

AFGHANISTAN

RELATIONS WITH USSR CLAIMED TO BE ON 'FIRM FOUNDATIONS'

Kabul ANIS in Dari 26 Mar 80 p 4

/Article: "Friendly Relations between the People of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union Have Firm Foundations"/

/Text/ Long-standing good relations and brotherly bonds, whose likes in the world are assuredly few, have, through the fulfilment of commitments, respect for rights of sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity and nonintervention in one another's affairs by the parties of both countries, and the fulfilment of the creative mission of the friendly people and the effective, disinterested aid of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, truly emerged triumphant from the test of time.

Before the victory of the great socialist revolution of October, Czarist Russia was an imperialist country in one vast nation of the world and a close and powerful ally against the world revolutionary movement and upheaval. However, after this great victory and the establishment of the socialist regime under the leadership of its party and its great leader, not only was this country transformed into the secure base of the movements and upheavals of world salvation but it struggled as a powerful bastion of peace and peaceful coexistence and the defender of the rights of all mankind in the nations under imperialism, exploitation and colonialism. In practice it took broad, revolutionary, effective steps to this end.

Throughout history, with the aid of its brave, freedom-loving scions, revolutionary Afghanistan has launched passionate struggles against colonialism, aggression and domestic reaction. For the first time in the vastness of Asia, the colonialists of Great Britain were reined in and the nation's political independence was declared, after the rise to power of Prince Amanollah, the king of the time, on 27 February 1919. In the course of a message addressed to the valiant people of Afghanistan, the ruler at that time said, "Afghanistan considers itself independent and free of the control of England and from now on will benefit from all the rights which other independent countries possess."

In this period, when Britain proceeded from British India with a military invasion of 340,000 troops toward Afghanistan, 60,000 patriotic soldiers,

the brave actions of the people of Afghanistan, prepared themselves for a confrontation to defend the independence and national sovereignty of their country. Afghanistan received assurance from the newly-established nation of soviets and total protection was presented by the government of the workers and peasants for Afghanistan's anti-colonialist struggle when on 27 March 1919, in the course of a declaration, the nation of the soviets stated that it was "enacting decrees on the non-pursuit of a policy of occupying the lands of other peoples, on the official recognition of small countries bordering Russia, and on the establishment of good commercial relations with them"--a declaration which left an effect like a knife in the face of the British advance in Asia. As a result of the just war of the brave Afghans, on 8 August 1919 the British, after an ignominious defeat, signed an agreement recognizing the political independence of Afghanistan on the front and the shameful bed of colonialism was ejected from our country.

From the moment the government of the soviets abrogated the Czarist decrees and agreements and adopted an absolute revolutionary position on the side of peace and peaceful coexistence and protection of the human rights of the nations under tyranny, colonialism and world imperialism voiced the accusation that the Soviet Union allegedly wanted to export the revolution to other countries or place them under its influence; in this manner, international aggressors and reaction wanted to create obstacles in the way of the development and expansion of peaceful relations between the country of the soviets and the other advanced countries of the world. In this regard the great revolutionary leader of the Socialist Union said, "There are people who think that revolution can come about in a foreign country in accordance with an order and through an agreement. People of this type are either stupid or agitators. Revolution cannot be carried out according to an order or by reaching agreement but rather comes into being at times when millions of people reach the conclusion that one cannot live this way any longer." Imperialism and colonialism, however, have both become crazy and are making murderous agitations.

The above reasoning was a crushing blow rejecting the mockeries of colonialism and imperialism. It persuaded the peace-loving nations of the world in our country as well, realizing the noble, humane policy of the country of the soviets; good relations existed from then on, and, in order that relations of good neighborliness be established with all its human power, it was stated, in a section of the agenda for the establishment of friendly relations between the newly-created Soviet Union and the newly-independent Afghanistan, that "We will not interfere in your domestic affairs, we will not commit aggression against the autonomy of your people, and we will help every phenomenon playing a progressive role in the development of your people." On this basis, the government of the soviets was the first country officially to recognize our national independence and it was the first revolutionary country to establish diplomatic relations with the country.

ALGERIA

'L'HUMANITE' REPORTS ON ALGERIA

Western Maneuvers Against Algeria

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 13 Apr 80 p 7

[Article from APS: "L'HUMANITE Reports 'Present Maneuvers Against Algeria'"]

[Text] Paris--"The difficulties encountered by Algeria in its present negotiations on the price of natural gas with its two main customers, the United States and France, are characteristic of the present climate of international economic relations and of the will of imperialist powers to use all means to perpetuate their economic supremacy and their plundering of the Third World," the French newspaper L'HUMANITE wrote in yesterday's issue.

"Algeria, who has been advocating for years the creation of a new economic order, the valorization of developing countries' resources, and genuine independence for these countries, is now the subject of maneuvers and pressures which show what credit can be given to the nice speeches of leaders of the main capitalist countries concerning aid to the Third World and the new economic order," the daily states; it then goes on:

"It is also significant that these pressures are exerted at a time when Iran, whose interests Algeria has just accepted to represent near the Carter Administration, is threatened and has become the object of actual economic blackmail on the part of the United States. This clearly shows their will of breaking, by all means, the front of anti-imperialist Third World countries."

Natural Gas Pricing Policy

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 13 Apr 80 p 7

[Article from APS: "Algeria Refuses the Role of Basic Commodity Supplier"]

[Text] Paris--The Algerian policy concerning the exploitation and the exportation of natural gas is explained in the second part of L'HUMANITE's report on hydrocarbons in Algeria.

The special correspondent of the Parisian daily emphasizes Algeria's efforts in the investment sector and the necessity "for the price of natural gas to be at least equal to that of oil." In this connection, he notes the biased and mendacious reaction of certain French newspapers, and insists: "The truth is that western countries have not yet given up the 'gunboat policy,' even though their gunboats are now called Hersant group, Pedriel group, Hachette or RTF (the dominant French newspapers groups). The truth is that western countries have long taken advantage of a favorable power ratio to buy natural gas at a colonialist price."

"Like an increasing number of Third World countries, Algeria is rejecting its traditional role of supplier of cheap basic commodities and consumer of expensive finished products. The stereotype of the Algerian living on the exportation of its oil belongs in the museum of colonialist (or neo-colonialist) illusions, next to that of the "bicot," the Arab earning his daily bread by selling rugs (in the street)," L'HUMANITE's special correspondent then stresses.

"Oil is not 'black gold,' and SONATRACH should not be a skyscraper in the desert," L'HUMANITE's special correspondent adds; he then underlines that:

"Hydrocarbons must not be considered as a natural accident, a stroke of luck, a source of unearned export income. They must, first of all, serve the future needs of Algerian industry, provide the necessary resources for the development of the national agriculture and industry. For the same reason, SONATRACH--the national Algerian oil company--is not an end in itself. Within 13 years, it has grown from 6,000 to 100,000 workers, and it should be decentralized to better adapt to the national and regional development."

After a meeting with an Algerian geologist, L'HUMANITE's special correspondent reports, among other things:

"The Algerian geologist wishes to recreate a living kingdom by replacing the desert with the sea. This would change the climate. A new soil would be created. The Sahara would become a food-producing basin for part of Africa. An industrial basin too, with the uranium, gold, wolfram, tungsten and iron deposits of the Ahaggar, with a new oil deposit south of the Ahaggar."

"To create an inland sea, that is technically feasible, the geologist adds. It is even the only real solution. Only, it is a project on an international scale, a project which would require the efforts of one generation," L'HUMANITE's special correspondent adds, and goes on to conclude:

"Such are the new illusions in the Sahara of the 1980's. Illusions which may be only projects somewhat ahead of their time. However, if the heroine from "L'Atlantide" [a pre World War II novel by Pierre Benoit] had seen men extracting and reinjecting gas in the desert at will, if she had seen independent Algeria, would she not have protested that these were but illusions?"

9294

CSO: 4400

PAPER CLAIMS NEOCOLONIALISM IS BEHIND TIZI OUZOU EVENTS

LD010833 Algiers AL-SHA'B in Arabic 27 Apr 80 p 1

[Editorial: "The Vast Difference Between Culture and Barbarism"]

[Excerpts] The town of Tizi Ouzou has begun to return to normal and to tend the wounds on its face scarred by the barbaric sabotage actions of a clique which has placed itself in the service of neocolonialism against the higher interests of the revolution and the nation.

The acts of rioting and sabotage have revealed the truth behind the "cultural demands" and the slogans with ulterior motives which have nothing to do with civilization or culture.

The pictures shown on television clearly depicted the effects of barbarism and of the malice against the country and the revolution, for the acts of sabotage were directed against establishments representing national sovereignty and involved burning the national flag, the symbol of our dignity and our martyrs' sacrifices, and the economic establishments that concern the life of the citizen and which were built with the people's sweat.

The neocolonialist press once again exposed itself when it wrongly described the sabotage against state establishments and public property as a "confrontation" between the security departments and the perpetrators. In fact, it is a confrontation but one between barbarism on one hand and civilization and culture on the other.

Some people, because of either ignorance or ill intentions, tried to explain what happened as being the result of the authorities banning one of the advocates of neocolonialism from using one of the university halls. The ban was because the "lecturer" was invited by an organization that has nothing to do with the university. A week earlier the same man impudently attacked Islam, which is holy to our Muslim people. In a statement to the French paper LIBERATION this man described Islam as being more dangerous than colonialism. This is the most extreme form of impudence, provocation and aggression.

We wonder how the university hall could be made available to this "preacher" who shows contempt for the feelings and sanctities of the people. He should have been brought to stand at some other place in order to account for his actions.

The attempt by the minister of higher education to initiate a dialogue with the university students has revealed that the "cultural slogans" are only a cover for a vicious conspiracy concocted by neocolonialism and its stooges.

It was no coincidence that this vicious and barbaric attempt should get wide coverage in the neocolonialist press and that this press should become the official mouthpiece of this movement using all its skill in distortions and falsehoods.

Therefore, once again we find that our war against colonialism is not over yet; it has been chased out of the door but now wants to return through the window of sedition and disruption of the unity of the people and the nation.

CSC: 4402

TUDEH ORGAN: 'U.S. IS MAIN ENEMY OF OUR REVOLUTION, PEOPLE'

Tehran MARDOM in Persian 8 Apr 80 pp 1, 2

/Article: "Let Us Concentrate Fire on the Basic Enemy of Our Revolution and People, American Imperialism"/

/Text/ Once again American imperialism has found the proper moment for putting all its levers of domestic and foreign pressure into movement against the Iranian revolution. Carter's spokesman has declared that the United States is starting the economic deprivation of Iran in all fields, including food, and tightening the circle of naval blockade around Iran.

America's bases in Turkey, Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Oman, the Indian Ocean, Kenya, Somalia, Greece, Cyprus and the other areas in the region surround Iran like a ring on a finger.

The Ba'thist regime in Iraq, which some time ago set out on the road of treason against the people of its country, including the genuine revolutionary forces, headed by the Iraq Communist Party, has now, in the logical process of this course, turned into an effective assistant of American imperialism against the Iranian revolution. Groups of saboteurs who are receiving money, arms and explosives from Iraq are causing catastrophes every day in Kordestan, Khuzestan, Kermanshahan and other areas of Iran. The Ba'thists have brought the quarrel between Arabs and Persians out of the graveyard of history and are sowing differences and dissent between the two fraternal peoples of Iran and Iraq on behalf of imperialism. American ships are parading before the Islands of Tanb and Abu Musa and threatening the entire region. However, the Ba'thists are not saying a word in condemnation of American imperialism, are not complaining before the United Nations Organization, are not entering into talks with Iran against the common enemy--to the contrary, they are committing sabotage through deceit and allegation against the Iranian revolution every day.

Concurrently with foreign pressure, domestic pressure against the Iranian revolution has also mounted. In addition to the explosions, provocations, assassinations and attacks on booksellers and centers of revolutionary organizations, which recently have assumed an unprecedented intensity,

rightist and liberal elements, in the quest to gain power, are engaged in reorganizing their forces. The Maoists, who sometimes wear an Islamic mask and sometimes a leftist one, have found their way into the most sensitive government positions and are obstinately pursuing their fundamental role, which is to create differences between the socialist countries and Iran and sow discord among the forces of the revolution, especially the Tudeh Party of Iran and other revolutionary forces, in behalf of American imperialism.

American imperialism hopes that, by making use of all domestic and foreign elements, it will be able to pull the Iranian revolution back. The problem with the task lies in this first step itself. If American imperialism and its accomplices can hold the Iranian revolution back in its first step, they can easily impose other steps upon us.

Standing up to American imperialism is "getting at the spring with a shovel." Let us not allow the spring to turn into a flood, where not even an elephant could block it off.

How can one stand up to American imperialism? How can one overcome this bloodsucking beast?

We have followed this road in history before and have seen, through experience, that the unity of all forces is the secret of victory over the demonic forces of the great satan. Differences among popular forces at this historic moment constitute aid to American imperialism. Therefore, the Tudeh Party of Iran has decided henceforth to remove all forms of written dispute with popular and revolutionary forces from the pages of its publications. In the past we never took the first step to begin these discussions, but today this restraint has a deeper meaning. We consider that the destiny of our beloved Iran is in danger and, in order to face this danger, consider the creation of a climate of mutual understanding among the revolutionary and popular forces to be our duty for the sake of victory over their enemies. We also appeal to all other popular and revolutionary parties, organizations, groups and forces to eliminate the disputes.

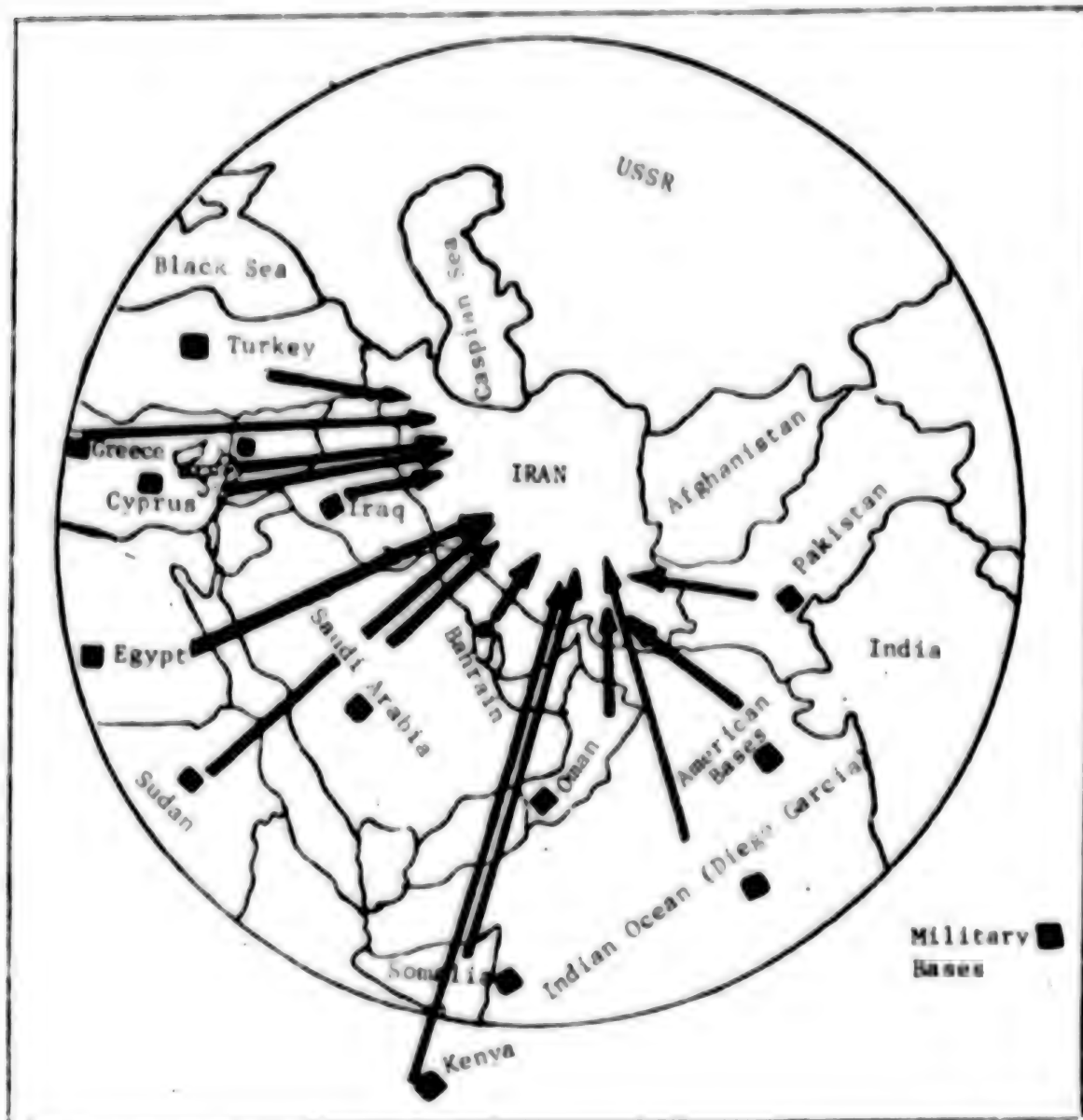
We hope that with this action the first effective step will be taken to create a climate of mutual understanding among popular and revolutionary forces. It is clear that our purpose in eliminating the dispute is not to avoid expressing differences of opinion. It is not to cut off constructive, useful discussions. However, we believe that the expression of different solutions, no matter how much they may even differ with one another, must not be an excuse for creating dissent or pursuing dissent.

We are of the firm belief that through the unity of the proper revolutionary forces, aside from differences in political beliefs, beliefs of conduct or creed, the counterrevolutionary conspiracy of imperialism, headed by American imperialism and its domestic agents, can be thwarted and crushed.

In accordance with our national, patriotic and revolutionary duty, we will put all our forces to work on behalf of this sacred objective.

Compatriots! Forces loyal to the revolution! Let us concentrate fire on the basic enemy of our revolution and of our people and our nation, the great satan of American imperialism!

American Imperialism Against Iran



INTELLECTUALS DESCRIBE MULLAHS' INFLUENCE, WOMEN'S ROLE IN NEW ORDER

Djavadi: Mullahs Taking Revenge

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 27 Mar 80 p 2

[Article by Lars Moller-Rasmussen]

[Text] Tehran--Iran's intellectuals talk about the priests' takeover of the revolution, the status of women--and some western misconceptions.

"Iran after the revolution is one big contradiction. People gossip openly about the foreign minister being a bisexual but on the other hand almost anyone can risk being seized by the revolutionary committees that can be found in every quarter of the city. The government apparatus is almost paralyzed and yet here in Tehran they are experimenting with days when no cars can be driven, something we can't manage in our well-organized European countries. The president can say one thing and the students in the American Embassy then say something quite different."

The fellow journalist who outlined his impressions after a few weeks in revolutionary Iran in this way is not the only one who is confused.

Many Iranians also find the revolution full of contradictions. This is true not only of intellectuals who on the basis of purely western ideological convictions took part in the fight against the shah and who are already, so soon after the victory of the revolution, repelled by its "Islamic" character. It is also true of Iranians who while not necessarily religious support an Iran based on Moslem culture and who worked during the revolution with the Islamic movements whose highest mutual authority was Khomeyni.

Ali Asghar Hadj Sayed Djavadi, one of Iran's great modern writers, belongs to the second category on the dividing line between the Islamic world and western ideas. Under the shah's regime he was known as a

human rights activist which led to losing his job with a big Tehran newspaper and then being arrested during the turmoil that ended in the collapse of the regime. Today he protests in the press against what he regards as the attempt of the ruling forces to blacken the name of the moderate Islamic ex-prime minister, Bazargan through TV broadcasts in the middle of an election campaign in which TV was supposed to be neutral.

No Precise Program

Sayed Djavadi told INFORMATION that the revolution had turned out very differently than he had thought it would.

"We believed that the victory of the revolution would result in all progressive groups that had participated in the struggle against the regime getting into power. But unfortunately the leadership after the revolution has been monopolized by the priests who have taken all the ruling bodies into their own hands. They have built up a power pyramid with the imam (Ayatollah Khomeyni, Ed.), the Revolutionary Council, the committees--which act as a police force in each quarter of the city--the Islamic courts and the semimilitary Pasdaran (revolutionary guards).

"The government has no influence over these bodies who have the affairs of the country in their hands and who function quite independently of the government under the control of the priesthood. That is why the Iranian revolution has not gained any united revolutionary leadership or any precise program."

In the West people have been concerned about a deterioration of the status of women following the revolution. People are also shocked by reports in the press that prostitutes and homosexuals have been executed in Iran after the revolution.

"With regard to women's status, you must first remember that Iran is an underdeveloped country," Djavadi said. "Three-fourths of the population are illiterate. And in a traditional society where the family plays a dominant role the patriarchal viewpoint is necessarily predominant.

"But if the men were oppressed by the despotic regime so were women and that was the reason for their weak position. When an illiterate worker comes home from a 12-hour work day and doesn't find his dinner ready it isn't so hard to understand that he might hit his wife or his children.

"After the revolution the priests' orthodox view of women has been the predominant one. That is why no attempt has been made to integrate women socially or culturally into the revolutionary trend. In a way they have treated women the same way as they treated the intellectuals who were also excluded," Djavadi said.

He went on: "The priests' interpretation of the position of women in society is completely primitive. Within Islamic law there is equality between men and women in all areas. But with respect to modesty the priests have settled on a fanatic concept and have supported the wearing of the chador (a long robe that covers everything but the face, hands and feet, Ed.) by women.

Prostitutes

"In China, where the revolution was not Islamic, they also went in for women dressing simply and modestly. This has also been the case in other socialist countries, among other things in order to avoid expenditures for modern fashions and cosmetics. Iranian women should also dress modestly but without this fanatic exaggeration. There were three reasons why many women demonstrated after the revolution. They were opposed to restrictions of their rights, they were expressing their disappointment with the revolution and they also admitted a wish to be able to retain a few luxury items.

"Today there are women who demonstratively use cosmetics, go to a hairdresser and go bareheaded--just as there were women before the fall of the shah who demonstratively wore the chador."

Homosexuals

What about the reports of prostitutes and homosexuals being executed?

"In the first place only whorehouse madams have been executed, not those who were forced into prostitution. There are many false ideas in the West on these matters. With regard to homosexuality the problem is entirely different in Iran than it is in Europe or America.

"In Europe homosexual relations are the expression of a free choice on the part of adults but in Iran homosexuality is closely tied to rape. It is also a problem that affects young people in particular due to lack of contact with girls their own age. It is common in the poorer districts in southern Tehran for bigger and stronger boys to commit homosexual rape against their weaker comrades from school. Those who were executed were not executed for homosexuality as such but for homosexual rape."

Islamic Paradox

The development toward priesthood domination which the Iranian revolution has made is perhaps most painful in the view of the political forces who like ex-prime minister Bazargan are Islamic but in a more reformist way. According to Djavadi these people have "Islamic ideas but they are influenced by western culture. They are not orthodox--in

contrast to the priests who now lead the country and who have absolutely no clear idea about the nation's economic and social problems or international politics."

The branch of Islam that predominates in Iran, namely Shi-ism, is usually regarded as more flexible than the main Islamic trend, Sunnism. Against that background isn't it surprising that Khomeyni seems to support a very literal interpretation of Islamic ideas?

"Yes, that is a paradox," said Djavadi. "In Shi-ism the priests have a right--in contrast to Sunnite Moslems--to change interpretations of religious law to bring it into accordance with current developments. But sociologically what has happened in Iran is that the priests have withdrawn from society in the course of time, shutting themselves up in religious schools.

"They have not had any contacts with scientific ideas and the ironic thing is that because of this isolation they lack experience in state and social affairs. They have no experts in these areas and they are not flexible enough to work with other groups such as academicians, technocrats and intellectuals. But in spite of this lack of ability and resources the priests want to have and retain power at all costs. This leads to stagnation and at the same time it is the most curious characteristic of our revolution."

Saffarzadeh: Women Had Biggest Role

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 29-30 Mar 80 p 2

[Article by Lars Moller-Rasmussen]

[Text] Tehran--An Iranian woman writer talks of the situation of religious women, western feminists and the many meanings of the chador.

One of the paradoxes of Iran's Islamic revolution is that it seems to give women a more restricted and a more prominent role at one and the same time. Iran's new leaders say that women should avoid dressing in a showy and provocative way and they should preferably wear the almost all-concealing chador robe--although this is not directly compulsory as only a few minutes spent on the streets of Tehran can convince doubters of. At the same time women seem to be in strong support of the new regime. As they were during the revolution women--clad in the chador--are a strong element in demonstrations supporting Ayatollah Khomeyni.

For many westerners the chador became a symbol of the oppression of Islamic women and after the revolution western feminists went to Iran to

demonstrate their solidarity with Iranian women. For western feminists the chador was a symbol of the Dark Ages. But it looked a little different to the Iranian counterparts according to Iranian author Tahereh Saffarzadeh.

Western Concerns

"After the revolution there were rumors that the new leaders would force women to wear the chador, but that was not true," she said to INFORMATION. "Aside from that most Iranian women like to wear the chador. It is the costume they are most familiar with.

"The problems of the western women are mental--ours are physical," she added. "After the revolution some western feminists came to Iran and spoke of how Iranian women should stop wearing bras and cosmetics. More than four-fifths of all Iranian women are illiterate and have to deal with poverty and a brood of children in a single small room. They are not concerned with that kind of luxury. Not until we have solved our fundamental problems--the economic and educational problems--will we have time to deal with what might be called the ceremonial relationship between men and women."

Tahereh Saffarzadeh writes poems which because of their political and social orientation could not be published before the revolution. But her first volume of poetry became the year's bestseller and since then she has published a total of eight collections of poems. She writes in a style that is new in Iran--the so-called "resonance poesy" in which images are piled on top of each other for a total effect that is highly suggestive. She also teaches literature at Iran's national university.

Western View

"If one doesn't know anything about our religion and if one doesn't know what the shah's regime was like one cannot judge our revolution," said Saffarzadeh. "One cannot even have a genuine sympathy for it. This is also true of the western feminists who have no knowledge of the problems faced by Iranian women.

"If one looks at the situation from a western point of view one thinks Iranian women are helpless and oppressed. But if one goes up to them and asks one gets another answer. Islamic women are happy after the revolution and they are the majority. They feel respected and they are also filled with self-respect. It was the women's revolution.

Women's Role

"Women played the most important role in the revolution," Saffarzadeh said. "They participated in it directly. For example 400 women were

killed in a single clash. They fought in the streets just like their sons and husbands did--and they encouraged them to fight too.

"I know a woman who lost four of her children during the revolution. She has one child left and says she would be happy even if the last one had been martyred as well. This lies very deep in the Shi-itic form of Islam--if one sacrifices one's life for a just cause one goes straight to paradise.

"The women I'm talking about were all religious. They were not intellectuals," she stressed. "Society owes them all the honor and respect it can give them. Most of those who became invalids during the revolution were also women. All these women are happy even if their sons and husbands were killed in the revolution.

"This was the women's revolution and therefore we are not worried about our rights. If there are rights we don't have, we'll get them. Our women have a large supply of courage.

Islam and Intellectuals

"We intellectual women who are fashionable and uncommitted compared to the Islamic women may feel a little restricted if these Islamic laws are introduced," Saffarzadeh added. "But there must be some balance. Educated women in Iran have been brought up with western values and customs and they feel remote from Islam. But they should try to understand the Islamic women and besides these laws will be flexible. Nothing has been made compulsory. Many do not wear scarves on their heads and dress as they always have."

Tahereh Saffarzadeh wears a scarf herself but otherwise she is dressed in western clothes. Of her own religious views she said:

"I believe in God but I may not be able to practice religion as these brave religious women do. Shi-itic Islam always fights against oppression and for justice. It also opposes the compromises that are so popular in this world. As an intellectual I have always written for my own people and I understand my people and the role of imperialistic influences--economic and cultural--in our country."

Significance of Chador

Of the chador, which she does not wear herself, she had this to say:

"According to the Koran women should cover their bodies and Iranian women have selected the chador for this. But they also wear it to show their solidarity with Khomeyni and to show unity among women. Many who do not wear the chador wear scarves on their heads instead. It is also

a question of identity. Finally this mode of dress is also a symbol of activism. During the revolution the chador was a sign of activism."

Saffarzadeh does not believe that developments in Iran are heading toward an almost total division of the sexes as there is in Saudi Arabia. "Our president is Islamic but I do not believe he will support the creation of a divided society. I don't think personally that society should be divided up in that way because it is simply a way of making the opposite sex more interesting."

Monopoly and Flexibility

Of political developments since the revolution she said:

"The religious leaders have monopolized the power but they have also shown flexibility in exercising it. When you walk along the streets you can see for yourself how much freedom there is. Books on Marxism are sold even though Marxism is against religion and even though Moslems would have to physically oppose atheists if they took the Koran literally.

"The most important problem for the reorganization of the country is that we do not have good administrators and technicians in the Islamic circles. The tendency has been to draw all the leaders from these groups. And in the past they were not in leading positions, either because they were in jail or had been denied a job or because they had refused to take one to avoid soiling their hands. Another problem is that initially the Islamic regime has not acted in a revolutionary way so that many of those who had worked for the shah's regime either escaped to the West and plotted intrigues there or remained in their old jobs in Iran and created problems here."

IRAQ SEEKS UNANIMOUS ARAB APPROVAL OF NATIONAL CHARTER

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 1 Mar 80 pp 31-32

[Article by Baghdad correspondent: "Baghdad Presents National Charter in Response to 'Balkanization' of the Middle East"]

[Excerpts] Hassan II tells Saddam Husayn: "We are prepared to sign the Charter immediately." The Iraqi president replies: "What is required is Arab unanimity, not a return to alliances." Some Arabs expect a new "Yalta" to redive the Middle East.

During his recent short visit to Baghdad, King Hassan II of Morocco expressed to President Saddam Husayn his readiness to immediately sign with Iraq the National Charter which the Iraqi president had previously proposed.

A diplomatic report received in one of the Arab capitals, concerning the subjects dealt with during the recent visit of the Moroccan monarch to the Middle East and the results of the visit, states that King Hassan II saw the Iraqi Charter as one of the most important political measures to protect the Arab world from the dangers of sliding into the pits of international conflicts.

The report adds that the King of Morocco felt that this Charter embodies what the various regimes and factions of the Arab nation should seek to accomplish in this period which is regarded as one of the most dangerous periods ever faced by the Arab world, from east to west. Therefore, he told the Iraqi president: "I am prepared, without hesitation, to sign this Charter with you, based on my faith in the fact that this charter forms the proper framework to safeguard the Arab nation, maintain joint Arab action, and ward off the dangers of discord and fragmentation which threaten the Arab world."

The Iraqi president answered the Moroccan monarch to the effect that the purpose of Iraq in preparing this Charter is not to sign it separately with Morocco or any other Arab nation, and leave out the rest of the Arab

world, because this would be inconsistent with the goals of the Charter, and would plunge the Arabs again into separate alliances and discord.

Diplomatic reports add that the Iraqi president told the King of Morocco: "One of the goals of the Charter is to transcend Arab differences, and not to allow any secondary bilateral differences to affect policies on universal Arab issues which determine Arab destiny. Consequently, the objective is to do away with policies of separate alliances and promote solidarity and joint action to confront immediate as well as distant dangers threatening the Arab world."

"Therefore," the Iraqi president added, "what is required now is more communication and consultation among the Arab nations, to obtain a collective crystallization of the views which will ultimately be cast in this Charter."

When the Iraqi president announced the Charter, the immediate impression among most Arab governments was that announcement of a charter of this type was dictated by present conditions in the Arab region of the Middle East following the developments which started in Iran, and then took a more dangerous turn after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The latter raised the threat of a confrontation between the American and Soviet giants, and placed the world on the brink of disaster.

Lebanese statesman and former Premier Sa'ib Salam conveyed such impressions to the Iraqi president during Salam's recent visit to Baghdad.

The Iraqi president's response to Salam was: "There is no doubt that extremely important and dangerous events are taking place on the borders of the Arab region. It is natural that these events cast shadows and complications upon the entire Arab region. This is especially so with regard to the Arab oil region, which may very well be one of the ultimate targets of the current international conflict which assumes a military character in certain phases, and a political character in others."

The Iraqi leader informed Salam that these developments are naturally related to the Charter. "Nonetheless," he said, "they are not the only reason which impelled us to prepare it. The preparation of an Arab charter such as this, involving various postulates and dimensions, was the object of deep study which began quite some time ago, before the situation in Afghanistan and its resultant dangers to the Arab world surfaced."

Diplomatic reports express the belief that the Iraqi effort to prepare this Charter began following the Baghdad Summit and the abnormal position into which the [Middle East] region, and more precisely the Arab world, was placed after the Camp David accords. Thus, this Charter is considered to be a practical translation of the well-known Baghdad Summit resolutions.

This discussion of the National Charter proposed by Iraq, leads the way to a discussion of the present state of uneasiness and apprehension in the Arab world.

A great deal of speculation is going on, but it all boils down to the same question: "How can the Arab world escape a new 'Yalta,' in such a way as to be left alone, free of a return to the era of foreign protection, and free of the military presence of the great or superpowers?"

If we concede that this speculation or question reflects or expresses a state of uneasiness affecting all governments of the entire region without exception, a second question, almost equally important to the first, arises. It is this: "How long will the nations of the Arab world remain on the waiting list to learn about their future, and, consequently, about what unforeseen developments await them?"

A prominent Iraqi official states that the National Charter, which can provide remedies for most of the ills from which the Arab world suffers, can, to the same extent, presently provide an answer to the speculation and state of uneasiness haunting the region.

The Iraqi official, who was talking to a number of Arab ambassadors at the residence of one of them, continued: "Colonial ambitions in the Arab region, as a strategic location and a source of economic wealth, are ancient ambitions which never ceased through the ages. These ambitions were constantly a source of trouble between the great nations. Consequently, they were the cause of all past and present conspiracies against the Arab world to divide it, weaken it, and force it to live constantly in a state of conflict and internal unrest, in order to prevent its growth and prevent its emergence as an effective power on the international scene. To go further, it is evident that if it were not for these ambitions, the Jews would not have been given a homeland in Palestine and there would have been no Israel."

The Iraqi official concluded: "In order to confront these dangers there is no substitute for reaching a true Arab agreement which takes into consideration the basic roots of the problems of the Arab world, and is based on fundamental postulates. I believe that the Charter proposed by President Saddam Husayn covers all of these."

If Iraq says that the National Charter proposed by its president is the answer to all the fears and dangers which threaten the Arab world, and is the weapon with which to confront these dangers, what do the rest of the Arab nations say?

Up to now, only a limited number of Arab nations have cabled Iraq to inform it of their support for this Charter and their readiness to adhere to it as a Charter of honor which establishes agreement on how to confront dangers. However, these limited Arab approvals are not adequate in the view of Iraq, because the primary requirement is Arab unanimity based upon actual adherence. This Charter has to be accepted as an act of faith if it is to exist, and it cannot be compared to any other agreements which can be concluded between the nations which approve it.

Based on this Iraqi concept of the Charter, Baghdad has not been content with proposing it. Rather, it is continuing its consultations with the Arab capitals in this regard. It appears that the appropriate time for Baghdad to announce the next step has not yet arrived. At any rate, Baghdad has not yet disclosed what type of step will be taken to make the Charter operative.

Some think it likely that the Iraqi capital will take the initiative to propose convening an Arab summit for this purpose, if it sees that the circumstances are appropriate and the Arab climate is suitable.

While it is difficult to make safe predictions in this area, it is clear that as long as neither Baghdad nor any other Arab capital has yet announced proposals to translate this Charter into practical steps, adequate consultations on the Charter have not yet been completed. In response to a question about the relative strength of pessimism and optimism among the Arab nations on this subject, a Kuwaiti diplomat said that the matter is much too serious to be a mere object of speculation as to which is greater, optimism or pessimism. The situation in the entire region is now the object of review, he said, in the light of reports about a new "Yalta."

The Kuwaiti diplomat's words are in agreement with one of several reports received by an Arab government on anticipated events and on the areas and conditions which may be affected by the winds of change which have begun to blow upon the Middle East.

According to some of these reports, the progress of the region has in the past been halted at several historic points, but after each stop, it proceeded toward new horizons.

Thus, the first stop was after World War I, when the Arab homeland was partitioned into small and medium size entities. Then came the second stop after World War II, when the state of Israel was created on Palestinian territory. What will come after the present third stop? Will everything stay the same, with minor changes in regimes? Or will there be more partitioning and a shift from political entities to sectarian entities (i.e., from political Balkanization to sectarian Balkanization)? All of these possibilities are presented for consideration. In the thinking of some Arab nations, withdrawing into one's shell and devoting oneself to one's own household is the way to guard against dangers. But other Arab nations believe that individual effort will be of no use, and that the way to guard against dangers is to undertake collective Arab action.

9605

CSO: 4802

OFFICIAL: PARTY NEEDS BRAVER LEADERSHIP

Jerusalem JERUSALEM POST in English 2 May 80 p 5

[Interview with Arye Dulzen by Political Correspondent Mark Segal]

[Text]

ON THE EVE of next week's Liberal convention, Arye Dulzin seems extremely confident about his chances to beat Deputy Premier Simha Ehrlich in the race for the party's titular leadership. His goal is either the party chairmanship, a post left vacant since the departure of Dr. Elimelech Rimalt, or an entirely new position, such as chairman of the party presidium, a supreme policy-making body.

In an interview in his office at the Jewish Agency building in Jerusalem this week, I asked Dulzin whether frequent trips abroad on Agency business would affect his ability to discharge a top party job. Dulzin was quick to observe that he did not aspire to any other position beyond the party post. He repeated this assurance as if to put at rest any latent anxiety among his new party allies that he might be a rival for their job.

Indeed, he is entirely happy with his present position, to which he had been unanimously elected by the last Zionist Congress. He is only in mid-term and is amenable to approaches for another term he said.

Dulzin has apparently learned much in the ten years since Menachem Begin forced Gahal out of the Golda Meir cabinet, obliging Dulzin to forfeit his seat at the table where he had been a minister-without-portfolio.

Relations have been somewhat strained between the two for years, with Begin only going through the motions of mobilizing support for Dulzin during the campaign for the World Zionist Organization's No. 1 job. Dulzin is certainly getting back

now, arguing quite openly that the only hope for a second Likud administration is to replace Begin with Ezer Weizman at the head of the list. But he is careful not to repeat his famous statement that the government needed heavenly mercy.

Dulzin prefers to be circumspect about talk of a centre party arguing that the Likud is at the centre or rather *has* Likud. He is convinced that a refurbished Likud, including the Liberals, has the best chance to come out on top. He says that if Weizman leads the Likud, then the party would recover from its present failing image. "With Ezer as our candidate for the premiership we can win at the polls," he declared.

Was he not, in effect, registering a resounding vote of no-confidence in the prime minister? "Not at all," came the quick reply, and he proceeded to lavish praise on Begin's primary role in bringing about peace with Egypt, not forgetting to add that "in other areas the government has been less than successful." The line he would like the Likud to adopt is: "We brought you peace, now give us a chance for another four years to tend to internal matters." With the Weizman grin out in front, it could be the winning formula, he believes.

Duisin is certainly No.2 in the party as central committee chairman, with Ehrlich No.1 as party executive chairman. (They had all moved up one rung when Ehrlich manoeuvred Rimat out of the top position).

TALKING of the party elections, Duisin spoke enthusiastically of "our big surprise at the big turnout" of 30,000 voters. This was a demonstration of the Liberals' constituency, and that the party had its cadres out there. In this, there was an implied rejoinder to Herut's dismissals of Liberal popular support as fictional.

What was also a new trend was the shift away from the Tel Aviv-based party organization. This would lead to a tremendous change in the party, he declared, ignoring my question about its effects on Ehrlich's Tel Aviv-based machine. In his view, the party convention would be swung by a new group of uncommitted groups, comprising about 25 per cent to 30 per cent of the total. The elections would considerably enhance the standing of Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i, he said, referring fondly to his principal party backer.

The party poll had demonstrated the rank-and-file's desire for a stronger and reformed Liberal Party, and the result has brought him to contest the leadership, as pressure had begun mounting on him to throw down the gauntlet.

"I have received appeals from many groups whom Ehrlich thinks he has on his side, including the Liberal Workers Union," he said triumphantly. Analysis of the results had hardened his conviction of the measure of support he could garner.

Duisin's super-optimism is challenged by Ehrlich's camp, which claims victory for themselves. As has been observed elsewhere, if the claims of the Duisin and Ehrlich supporters to committed delegates were taken literally, then the total would add up to at least 140 per cent.

But Duisin is in a comfortable

position at the starting post. Even if his supporters do not manage to muster the necessary majority to remove Ehrlich, then at least he will be in a strong bargaining position to extract major concessions for himself and his allies.

Duisin's challenge infers that whether he wins or Ehrlich stays on, the days of the present Likud will be numbered, including Menachem Begin's leadership of the Herut-Liberal bloc.

Finally it might be observed that both Duisin and Ehrlich are acting in the General Zionist tradition of knowing how to switch horses in mid-race when they seem to be dropping behind -- that was the case when they joined with the Progressives in 1959, when they split with them to form Gahal with an ascendant Herut in 1973, proceeding to expand that alliance into the Likud in 1973.

Victory in 1977 proved to have contained the seeds of disintegration, and so the Liberals are off on a new tack -- probably to revive the old Mapai-General Zionist-Mizrachi coalition that helped Ben-Gurion run the WZO in the 1930s and 1940s and which constituted the coalition of the 1950s.

WHY HAD Duisin decided to run?

"Because our party needs a braver leadership, and so that the Liberals should stop being led by the nose in the Cabinet.

"We should enjoy equal status in the Likud. We are in the government by right, not by charity. I want the Liberals to regain their rightful place in the Likud and the government," he declared, making no bones about his view that the Liberals had slipped into the role of Herut's camp follower.

No, he did not favour early elections at this juncture, largely because he did not want them to be determined according to Labour's convenience. "We control the majority and we will decide when and if new elections will be called," the Liberal said.

Above all he felt that Premier Begin should be afforded ample opportunity to conclude the autonomy negotiations. Begin has steered the Camp David agreements, of which the autonomy scheme was an integral part, through the Knesset and "and only Begin can ensure it does not evolve into a Palestinian state. Apart that I see no one else capable of pushing this through to the end."

After puffing on his cigar, Dulzin said in measured tones. "After an interval of time, say by the end of 1980, we should review the situation and see whether new elections are called for." Would this mean bringing down the government and dispersing the Ninth Knesset before its legal expiry in November 1981? Dulzin replied: "We will see."

He was not overly impressed by the public opinion polls showing that Labour would swamp the Likud if elections were held now. "They tend to ignore the 40 per cent undecided vote," he said, adding: "Perhaps they dislike the Likud, but they certainly can't stand the Labour Alignment. I do believe that with new faces in the Liberal Party and the Likud we would have a good chance of winning back many disenchanted voters."

Did he fear the prospect of winning the party's top position, only to find himself a captive of Moda'i and his men?

"I do not relish being held in captivity by anyone," he replied breezily. "I expect to gain support from a majority composed of various groups in the party. I should imagine that we will disagree on some issues, and that is how things should be — as long as we maintain a mutual respect and a civilized manner in conducting our affairs."

Dulzin's concept of party leadership inferred being "no more than first among equals," and he spoke of the General Zionist tradition of never having one dominant leader.

In reply to a question about Ehrlich's future, Dulzin said he did not envisage any change in the deputy premier's status in the Cabinet as one of four Liberal ministers.

When I wondered how Dulzin, the outspoken moderate would get on with Moda'i, the noisay hawk, in formulating policy, he replied wartyly: "For the doves I am hawkish and for the hawks I am dovish. My partnership with Moda'i is based on a number of agreed premises, on some issues we agree to disagree."

The aspiring Liberal Party leader was particularly outspoken when referring to a number of recent cases when the Liberal ministers' lack of coordination allowed the extreme wing of the Cabinet to dominate policy-making. "So far, we have capitulated to the others on the major issues. Take the Hebron houses decision. We allowed the others to adopt a most damaging decision. Everyone knows we will never implement it, and meanwhile we have caused untold harm to Israel's international standing," he declared.

If Dulzin becomes party chairman he will see to it that the Liberals will have a leadership that will lead and direct the line to be adopted by its Cabinet ministers.

"At present, our ministers do not coordinate their position. This has to stop, and I want the party to have a leadership forum that will provide constant guidance," he said.

My parting question was whether the Liberals would allow Gush Emunim's patron Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon to bulldoze the Cabinet into altering the legal status of the settlements in the West Bank. "Nothing doing. It is out of the question right now," he declared.

ISRAEL

BEGIN'S POPULARITY DROPS, ONLY WEIZMAN STANDS FIRM

Jerusalem JERUSALEM POST in English 15 Apr 80 pp 1, 2

[Article by Mark Segal]

[Text] Prime Minister Menahem Begin's standing continues to decline in the eyes of the electorate, the latest JERUSALEM POST poll shows. Only 21 percent of those polled now regard Begin as the man best suited to be prime minister. This is a decline of three percent in a month. Only Defense Minister Ezer Weizman remains untouched by the plummeting esteem of the Likud government, the poll shows, with the public either preferring opposition figures or opting not to choose.

Finance Minister Yigael Hurvitz's honeymoon is over, to judge by his drop in public favor.

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir has so far failed to register on the public mind. Two of his predecessors, Moshe Dayan and Abba Eban, won more support than he did.

In the premiership stakes, Labor Party leader Shimon Peres is on the upgrade, with former premier Yitzhak Rabin not too far behind apparently because support for the late Yigal Allon is swinging in his direction.

The poll was conducted by the Modi'in Ezrachi applied research

centre among a representative selection of 1,300 adults.

Q. Who is best suited to be prime minister?

	March poll	Feb. poll
Menachem Begin	20.8	14.1
Shimon Peres	17.0	10.5
Yitzhak Rabin	12.5	5.5
Vigal Allen	—	4.4
Ezer Weisman	5.6	0.5
Moshe Dayan	1.1	1.3
Others	4.1	3.5
don't know/ undecided	33.1	31.9

Q. Who is best suited to be defence minister?

	March poll	Feb. poll
Weisman	45.8	45.8
Artzi Sharar	5.1	0.9
Dayan	4.2	2.7
Rabin	3.2	2.3
Peres	2.4	1.0
Allen	—	2.0
Haim Bar-Lev	1.0	1.0
Mordechai Gur	1.2	1.3
Others	2.7	2.1
Undecided/ don't know	33.5	31.9

Q. Who is best suited to be foreign minister?

	March poll	Feb. poll
Dayan	20.8	21.1
Abba Eban	15.3	14.4
Shamir	9.0	7.0
Allen	—	4.0
Weisman	2.5	3.2
Rabin	2.5	1.0
Peres	1.3	—
Vigal Yadin	1.1	1.1
Begin	—	1.0
Yosef Burg	—	1.0
Chaim Herzog	—	1.0
S. Tamir	—	0.0
Others	5.1	3.8
Undecided/ don't know	41.1	44.0

Q. Who is best suited to be finance minister?

	March poll	Feb. poll
Vigal Hurvita	53.5	50.5
Ya'acov Levinson	3.5	4.0
Simha Ehrlich	1.0	1.0
Gad Ya'acobi	1.5	0.0
Avraham Shavit	—	1.2
Others	5.9	2.8
Undecided/ don't know	34.0	39.0

Centre director Amiram Yarkoni noted little difference between the preference of men and women in the premiership poll, while younger voters supported Begin more than the 51-60 age group. Peres was more popular among the 41-50 age bracket.

Both men enjoy more support along the lower edge of the education scale.

PRIME MINISTER KHALIL DISCUSSES AUTONOMY SECURITY PLANS

Autonomy Security Plans

TA081048 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 8 May 80 pp 1, 2

[Article by 'Oded Granot]

[Text] In preparation for the renewal in Cairo on Monday of the deliberations by the Israeli and Egyptian ministers on the issue of security in the autonomy areas, yesterday Egyptian Prime Minister Dr Mustafa Khalil, in an exclusive conversation with MA'ARIV, said that the head of the Egyptian team, General 'Ali, would be coopting experts from the Egyptian Army, police, security services, gendarmes and people's militias in the consultations to formulate the Egyptian position. Khalil said that, in addition to General 'Ali, who would head the team, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Dr Butrus Ghali would apparently also be taking part.

The Egyptian Prime Minister expressed satisfaction with Israel's agreement to discuss the security issue, even though this agreement is a sort of "first step." He expressed the hope that the discussions by the Israeli-Egyptian ministerial team on the issue of security in the autonomy areas would be conducted "in all seriousness" and without Israel presenting as a precondition its position claiming that responsibility for the autonomy's internal and external security is the sole responsibility of Israel.

Senior Israeli elements said last night that Israel was not opposed to military and police experts taking part in the consultations in the framework of the Egyptian team, but they explained that it [Israel] did not intend to discuss details of the security arrangements in the territories, such as the IDF deployment, security points, numbers of weapons and so on, in the framework of this team.

In any event, last night the opinion was reinforced that the establishment of an Israeli-Egyptian ministerial team to discuss security affairs might make it easier to continue with the discussions even after 26 May, which is the target date for the end of the negotiations.

Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir told MA'ARIV that he was "ready to sign" Dr Khalil's proposal to implement the autonomy in a structure similar to that of the "states" (last word in English) in the United States, on the assumption that the Egyptians understand that the U.S. model has only one central rule.

Disturbing Autonomy Talks

TA081056 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 8 May 80 pp 1, 7

[Article by Ilan Kfir]

[Excerpt] Egyptian Prime Minister Dr Mustafa Khalil has accused Prime Minister Menahem Begin of worsening the atmosphere in the autonomy talks. At a briefing for Egyptian correspondents, Khalil criticized Begin's remarks at the liberal conference (Begin had said if security was not in Israel's hands, there would be no autonomy)

In an exclusive conversation with YEDI'OT AHARONOT yesterday, Dr Khalil said: "If the prime minister of Israel, Mr Begin, wants to break the autonomy negotiations, that is his business. If Israel wants to stop participating in the negotiations, it can do so. For our part, in spite of all the difficulties created in the discussion about the security issue, we are interested in continuing with the talks, with the aim of reaching an agreement on establishing the autonomy."

Khalil added that Israel was setting prior conditions in the negotiations, and Egypt would not agree to this. In reply to a question about his personal feelings on returning to Egypt, Dr Khalil replied: "I can say that I had expected we would achieve more in the negotiations. Unluckily for us, we achieved very little."

A source close to the prime minister of Egypt expressed his disappointment that Prime Minister Menahem Begin did not take the trouble to meet with Khalil during the 8 days of his visit to Israel. During the conference, Begin maintained a telephone link with Khalil.

Sources close to the negotiations believe that Egypt is no longer pressing to achieve an agreement by 26 May. On the contrary, they say that a new Egyptian trend toward slowing down the talks is apparent. This aim is to drag them out until November 1980--waiting for Carter's reelection on 4 November--on the assumption that after his election he will put pressure on Israel. These circles point to the various bureaucratic exercises the Egyptians used, which created the impression that the Egyptians were on vacation and not in "marathon" negotiations.

Egyptian Defense Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali said, in a talk with YEDI'OT AHARONOT, that the security program he presented and which aroused a stormy reaction from Israel was only an "opening position" and that it would be possible to introduce changes in it during the talks.

Security Issue

TA071029 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 7 May 80 pp 1, 2

[Article by Hanna Zemer]

[Text] "There is a difference in principle between settling [hityashvut] for security needs and [establishing] settlements [hitnahluyot] to realize

a historical right." This was stated yesterday by Egyptian Prime Minister Dr Mustafa Khalil who heads the Egyptian delegation to the autonomy talks.

In an exclusive interview for DAVAR conducted in his suite on the fourth floor of the Accadia Hotel in Herzliyya, Dr Khalil explained that "Egypt will never agree to settlements based on the historical argument. Were we to accept this, then the same logic would lead to annexation." On the other hand, settlements established for security reasons on areas allocated to the autonomy constitute military installations. Their status during the 5-year transition period may be discussed within the framework of the security issue. According to Dr Khalil, later on the relevant parties would discuss the future status of these settlements and there are various possible solutions.

Khalil added that the status of the "states" in the United States could, to a large extent, serve as a model for the autonomy in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. He claimed that whereas in the Camp David accords Israel committed itself to "full autonomy," what it is suggesting now is not even close to the authority of a "state" in the United States, which include a state legislature, state courts and state militias. Asked whether the extent of autonomy enjoyed by the "states" seemed the appropriate model, Khalil said: "Not exactly. However, this precedent could definitely be examined."

Dr Khalil defended the Egyptian proposal for security arrangements in the territories. He said that the proposal had been wrongly interpreted. The proposal was not a detailed plan. On the contrary, "according to my colleague Defense Minister 'Ali, at least 3 months would be required to discuss the specific paragraphs. Hence, the issue could not be concluded by the target date of 26 May."

According to the Egyptian Prime Minister, what is needed before that date is an understanding that the security issue would be discussed in detail based on the Egyptian concept in principle of establishing local police forces, which would be subordinate to the mayors, militias, which would be subordinate to the autonomy authorities and an intelligence unit. In the in-depth discussions later on, a decision would have to be made on the other questions, such as the size of the internal security forces within the boundaries of the autonomy, the people to be recruited for these forces (as far as their selection is concerned), their training programs and so on. Khalil continued: "It is not true that according to our proposal the IDF movements in the autonomy areas would be subordinate to the autonomy authority. We only suggested that the IDF report their movements in advance for reasons of efficiency and safety on the roads."

The Egyptian Prime Minister had in front of him the English version of the Camp David accords, opened to the chapter about "the West Bank and the Gaza Strip." One could see that he had prepared his homework very well. Various sentences were underlined in different colors of ink according to their subject. Sentences referring to the security issue were underlined in blue ink and on the side there were several notes in Arabic. Khalil continued: "What you are suggesting is absolutely incompatible with the

Camp David accords. Exclusive Israeli responsibility for the internal and external security in principle contradicts the Camp David accords, whereas in practice it may imply the continuation of the occupation. In any case, it could be interpreted as the continuation of the occupation. Thus, we will never manage to include the Palestinians in the talks and gain their cooperation on the operational side as required by the Camp David accords."

Dr Khalil did not ignore the fact that the security question was not the only obstacle to an agreement on autonomy. The chapter dealing with election procedures includes the question of the participation of the East Jerusalem inhabitants in the talks--a very tough nut. There are even more obstacles in the chapter dealing with the authority [of the autonomy]. Dr Khalil believes that were Israel to accept the Egyptian minimal plan and were the autonomy to be full autonomy, the Palestinians would accept it, despite the PLO's opposition.

Moreover, the Egyptian Prime Minister thinks that the establishment of this model of the autonomy will not automatically lead to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. On the contrary, according to Khalil the Palestinians will opt (based on a process determined in the Camp David accords, which recognizes their right to participate in the determination of their future for a Jordanian-Palestinian state. [sentence as printed]

Dr Khalil--a good-looking, polite man--wants very much to persuade the Israeli citizens that their security and the security of their country can be achieved only through peace. "Before we reached peace the Egyptian threat to your security was the greatest among all the military dangers. Then, when the principles of peace were agreed upon, that very fact led to a specified completion of the normalization agreements even before the date set for it. No normalization agreements were completed and initialled and will be finally signed, apparently within one week." [sentence as printed]

The Egyptian Prime Minister will return to his country today. Head of the U.S. delegation to the autonomy talks Sol Linowitz will leave Israel tomorrow and plans to return to Washington after paying a quick visit to Egypt. The talks scheduled to continue in Cairo will apparently resume in 2 weeks, on 18 May.

CSO: 4805

ISRAEL

U.S. EXASPERATION WITH ISRAELI ACTIONS DISCUSSED

Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 16 Feb 80 p 1

[Editorial: "He Who Lives Shall See"]

[Text] It is not surprising to note that U.S. President Carter's blood is boiling over Israel's challenge to the United States, if not the entire world, and over its persistence in building settlements on the West Bank. Nor is it strange that President Carter and his government are enraged by Israel's recent decision to permit Jews to settle in the city of Hebron.

Israel's objective is well-known. It is trying to win time to create a new accomplished fact on which to fall back when the time comes to negotiate a new peace with its Arab neighbors.

What we are waiting to see is what President Carter's anger and his government's exasperation will lead to. Are we going to see the day when exasperation will be actually translated into cutbacks in the unlimited U.S. aid lavished on Israel?

Will we see the day when intense anger will lead to the imposition of sanctions, however light they may be, on any nation that threatens world peace through its recklessness?

Or will exasperation always end with a hypocritical kiss?

He who lives shall see.

5/86

CRJ 4012

SILENT MAJORITY OF JEWS SAID TO BE OPPOSED TO ISRAELI POLICY

Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 16 Feb 80 p 1

[Editorial: "The Silent Majority"]

[Text] There is undoubtedly a silent majority among Jews which does not view things the way the Israeli government does, and which adheres to principles aimed at achieving a real peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

Dr Emanuel Jacobitz, the chief Jewish rabbi in England, issued a statement in which he declared two important facts which the Israeli government has often sought not only to set aside but to conceal.

The first is that peace does not begin with Sinai, but with relations between Israel and the Palestinians.

The second is that if Israel does not attain peace with the Arabs, Israel might as well be liquidated as a state.

This statement so aroused Israel's resentment that Dr Borg, chief of the Israeli delegation to the negotiations on autonomy, sent the Israeli ambassador in London in inquiry as to the accuracy of the statement attributed to Chief Rabbi Jacobitz, and expressed the hope that it was not true.

The Israeli government must realize that the silent majority of the Jews, wherever they are, is important and will speak up someday.

When that day comes, the Israeli government will not be able to shroud the face of the sun.

5146

CSO: 4802

POLL SHOWS DROP IN POPULARITY OF LIKUD MINISTERS

TA081235 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 8 May 80 p 1

[Peri public opinion poll: "A Drop in the Popularity of the Senior Likud Ministers"]

[Text] In April the popularity of all the Likud ministers dropped in comparison with March, including that of Defense Minister 'Ezer Weizman. The largest drop was noted in the popularity of Finance Minister Yigal Hurvitz. These are the findings of a Peri Institute National Public Opinion Poll conducted at the request of HA'ARETZ.

The number of people who are satisfied with Menahem Begin as prime minister dropped to 24 percent in comparison with 27.7 percent in March (HA'ARETZ 19 March 1980). This is the lowest rate of support for Mr Begin since he took office.

The number of people who are satisfied with 'Ezer Weizman as minister of defense dropped to 47.7 percent in comparison with 58.2 percent in March. This is also the lowest rate of support for Mr Weizman since he took office, although he continues to be the most popular of the senior Likud ministers.

The number of people who are satisfied with Yigal Hurvitz as minister of finance dropped to 30.3 percent in comparison with 36 percent in March and 38.6 percent who supported his appointment in December 1979.

Now 40.8 percent are not satisfied with Yigal Hurvitz as minister of finance, in comparison with 21.1 percent who were not satisfied with him when he had just taken office.

A first examination of Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir's popularity shows that a large section of the public, 49.3 percent, have no opinion about him. From the rest, who did express their views on the foreign minister, only 10.9 percent were found to be satisfied with him, in comparison with 25.9 percent who are not satisfied with him and 7.9 percent who are "more or less" satisfied with him.

The director of the study, Peri director Refa'el Gili, points out that an analysis of the findings according to alignment and Likud voters shows

that Defense Minister 'Ezer Weizman actually enjoys greater support from alignment voters than he does from the Likud voters, at a ratio of 39.1 percent of alignment voters who are satisfied with him, to 18.5 percent only of Likud voters who are satisfied with him. Outstanding among those who are satisfied with 'Ezer Weizman are young people (63.2 percent) and relatively new immigrants to Israel (62.1 percent).

Among the supporters of Finance Minister Yigal Hurvitz, people with a higher education level, (40.1 percent) are outstanding, while people with a lower standard of education (56.6 percent) are outstanding among his opponents.

The poll covered a representative sample of 1,200 men and women aged 18 and over who were interviewed personally in their homes throughout the country.

CSO: 4805

'HA'ARETZ' COMMENTS ON EGYPTIAN SECURITY PLAN

TA061245 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 8 May 80 p 9

[Commentary by Ze'ev Schiff: "Egyptian Security for Israel"]

[Excerpts] The papers reported that the Israelis who heard General 'Ali's security program were shocked. The truth is that there was no reason for this. Anyone who has been putting together the details of Egypt's security program for the West Bank should have felt this a long time ago. To me it seems that if anyone should have been surprised, it was the Americans. Prior to this round of talks, Ambassador Linowitz told Begin that he had heard from Egyptian Prime Minister Dr Khalil that there were good points in their program, and that the sides could now ignore the old Egyptian proposal that wanted to put restrictions on the IDF's movements in the West Bank. The Americans, therefore, had good reason to refuse to accept General 'Ali's "working paper," so that it would not appear that this was a joint program with Egypt. When 'Ali spoke about a U.S. presence and their incorporation into the various future supervisory activities in the West Bank, the Americans commented that they had never suggested such a thing and that this proposal had been made without consulting them.

I think that General 'Ali did us a favor in his presentation of Egypt's security program for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. We should not, under any circumstances, be insulted or angry at this. It would also be an error to regard the Egyptian program as simply a tactical move. This is what we thought, mistakenly, when they presented their program for Sinai at the beginning of the negotiations. The substance of the matters and the contents of the proposal are not tactics. It is only the method, the date of the presentation and the explanatory remarks to the communications media that are tactics. There will be a fight in Egypt over what General 'Ali proposed.

It would be a mistake to regard this as a starting point, from which they will retreat. It should be recalled that the main negotiations with the Palestinians and the Jordanians have not begun. What appears to many people to be a starting point is none other than a policy intended to sap [us]. In the future, when we reach a compromise with the Egyptians, the Palestinians and Jordanians will regard this compromise as a starting

point for them. Therefore, the Egyptian program should be taken as it is. It would be advisable to explain it very soon and not act in accordance with Al-Sadat's tactics, which are: postponement of the main negotiations, as far as possible, until 1981, to the period after the elections; and, in the meantime, bureaucracy, small crises and an agreement to slog through the negotiations swamp. We would be well advised to know, as soon as possible, what we are facing.

Anyone who surveys the Egyptian security program for Judeaea, Samaria and Gaza Strip, will necessarily reach the conclusion that the spirit is: We, the Egyptians, we defend you. The people who will help in this are the Palestinians and the Jordanians! Perhaps, with a great deal of trust and vision, it may be said that such a program could be a framework for the distant future, when the Palestinians and the PLO recognize Israel's right to exist and when Jordan and Syria agree to territorial compromise or to border changes. But, until then, this is a program that must be rejected out of hand. In this form it cannot even serve as a topic for discussion; unless, for example, the Egyptians agree that we will decide for them about the rules for the security and movement of their forces on their border with Libya, and Israel's general security service will be a partner in collecting information from the Egyptian police agents in (Asyut), where there have recently been riots against Al-Sadat and the peace.

The Egyptians are trying to calm us down on one point: the militia will not be established right away, but in another year or so. But it should be noted that it is not a question of a security program that will become valid after the autonomy has been in existence for 5 years, but right now. In fact, there is not one point in this program that we can or should agree to, possibly other than the proposal that the IDF units that will remain in the territories will be far from population centers.

How do the IDF and the other security services see Israel's security interests, at least for the next few years? First, with regard to the military presence for the purpose of defense against dangers from the outside, from regular armies or terrorist organizations. The IDF's fighting forces will primarily be deployed along the border. From this point of view, the border is both the front line and the contact line through which terrorists may infiltrate or smuggle in offensive weapons. It follows from this that supervision over the official transit points (the Jordan bridges) on the autonomy borders will be under Israeli supervision.

Military deployment does not mean taking several points and gathering inside camps without the ability to be mobile and move in and out of them. The reference is not to points in the field, but to areas. The most striking example is the Jordan Rift Valley. This is a security area where most of the IDF forces will be deployed and where many of its training exercises will be held. This is the largest area, but the IDF is not satisfied with it.

The IDF insists that it should be able to move freely in the regions of its deployment. It will move away from the towns and settled regions, but

movement along the latitudinal arteries (they speak of several such arteries) and also roads, where movement will be free. Guarding the arteries will be in the hands of the IDF and the military deployment will not only include the border area, but also important crossroads. There are some defense personnel (such as Bar-Lev) who do not consider all the Jewish settlements in the West Bank as important from the security aspect. But even the most scrupulous see the importance of those settlements that are on essential crossroads.

The IDF deployment also includes various types of emergency supply dumps. There are no troops without such supplies and there is no front or command post without emergency supply dumps. But what is perhaps more important than all this are the communications and early warning centers. The IDF deployment facing the central front will be most weakened without radar stations, other early warning intelligence stations and communications centers being established on the hill top and high places.

When we speak about internal security, the problems are more complicated and involved. It is worth noting that, when the prime minister promised President Carter that the security issues would be discussed in the plenum of the negotiating team, Begin was referring to external security. The issue of internal security is complicated because it also includes spheres such as the right to make arrests, the authority to interrogate and also judge those impairing the security. This is in addition to the elementary matter of the possibility of collecting information through agents, the various forms of listening posts and other methods. It would be ridiculous to demand that Israel hand over, or expose, the list of agents to the autonomy police. In any event, this would make our work of dealing with those who continue to use terror much more difficult. Any undermining of this sphere of internal security could impair any agreement and lead to unavoidable military tension. And, finally, the right of veto Israel is keeping for itself concerning the Palestinians who want to enter the autonomy area, to return to it, or to settle in it, should not, of course, be forgotten. In the joint committee that will decide on the list of people who want to return to or come to the West Bank, the representative of the Israeli security service must have the right to veto. Otherwise, we may very quickly have a situation in which the terrorist organizations' centers will be in Nabulus instead of in Beirut.

These are Israel's views and demands concerning its security in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This is the situation for the moment. The day may come, and we all hope so, when a new reality will be created. A reality which will allay the fears of the Israeli nation. Such a change would also lead to a change in Israel's security positions. Until then, the warning should be made that the security problems in the West Bank are not a purely personal affair of one or another minister. And these affairs cannot be settled in a "two-man committee" of Weizman and 'Ali. We have had enough of the grave stumbling-blocks in Sinai both during the negotiations and afterward. Under no circumstances must we repeat previous mistakes. This time the opinions of the experts--the general staff, the security service and so on--should be requested, and they should not be surprised, as the IDF was surprised, by things that may result in tears for generations.

BEGIN CANCELS GAZA EDUCATION AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT

TA081125 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 8 May 80 pp 1, 2

[Article by military correspondent Ze'ev Schiff]

[Text] The prime minister has ordered the cancellation of an agreement initialed in the Cairo residence of the Egyptian governor of the Gaza Strip, which permitted dozens of Egyptian education supervisors to come to the Gaza Strip to supervise and administer the matriculation examinations there. The agreement was initialed by an Israeli delegation, headed by an officer from the military government, but the political adviser to the Israeli Embassy in Cairo refused to sign it.

From the beginning the negotiations concerning the Egyptian education supervisors were characterized by a strange lack of coordination. The negotiations were conducted by the Defense Ministry staff. When the matters were concluded verbally in Cairo, there was no immediate report about this to the Foreign Ministry or to the Israeli Embassy in Egypt. The delegation that came from Israel to sign the agreement was surprised that nobody from the embassy was waiting at the airport. They telephoned the embassy and the advisor, Mr Tzvi Mazel, was sent immediately. Mazel joined the delegation as an additional representative. There was a brigadier general from the office of the coordinator of activities in the territories in the delegation.

The Defense Ministry staff apparently had instructions to agree to the entry of Egyptian supervisors into the Gaza Strip for the purpose of administering the matriculation examination. At the end of the negotiations, the Israeli delegation was taken to another place to initial an agreement. It turned out that the delegation had been taken to a house occupied by the Egyptian governor of the Gaza Strip. This is an office that has existed in Egypt in spite of the fact that the area was taken from the Egyptians by conquest.

The embassy advisor, Tzvi Mazel, drew his colleague's attention to the matter, but apparently they were not impressed. In the end Mazel announced that he could not sign the agreement until he received a new authorization for all the details and also for the place where the ceremony was held.

The details of the incident were reported to the foreign minister and the prime minister. As stated, an order was given to cancel the agreement that had already been initialed and renegotiate. Following this affair and other incidents, at the last cabinet session Prime Minister Menahem Begin instructed that care should be taken to see that all the contacts with Egypt should be conducted through one channel: the Foreign Ministry.

CSO: 4805

ELECTRONICS INDUSTRY AIMS AT \$2 BILLION EXPORTS BY 1990

Jerusalem JERUSALEM POST in English 17 Apr 80 p 7

[Article by Ya'Acov Friedler]

[Text]

HAIFA. — A proposal to declare the 'eighties "the decade of technological industry" and raise electronics exports to \$2b. by 1990 was made here last night by Uzia Galil, president of the Elron electronics concern, one of the country's largest.

Delivering the Philip Merlin Memorial Lecture at the Technion, Galil said the challenge could be met if we put our minds to it, though it meant increasing electronics exports almost tenfold from the present annual rate of \$250m. Israel had the brainpower and it was essential to expand electronics which was the major hope for narrowing the country's trade gap.

(Dr. Merlin, a member of the electrical engineering faculty, died last year at the age of 34.)

The drive would mean increasing the present electronics workforce from 20,000 to 60,000, and the number of engineers and

programmers from 4,000 to 16,000. Israel alone could not train so many engineers and it would therefore be essential to bring back emigrant engineers and attract new immigrants. This would be possible, Galil said, if we held out the proper challenge to them.

Galil also would like to see the establishment of multi-national corporations by Israeli companies, in cooperation with foreign firms. This would spread the risk of investment in Israel and provide technological cross-fertilization, he said.

Reviewing the current state of the industry, Galil said its output now totals \$600m. annually, including \$250m. worth of export. During the past decade growth had been 20 to 25 per cent annually, with the defence establishment the industry's biggest customer.

Altogether some 40 firms comprise the industry, with 90 per cent of production accounted for by less than ten of the larger ones, Galil said.

CSO: 4820

BRIEFS

WEST BANK SETTLEMENTS OPPOSED--The majority of the public thinks that the establishment of additional settlements in Judaea and Samaria could be the main stumbling block for the establishment of the autonomy in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This is the conclusion of a nationwide public opinion poll conducted by the Pori Institute at the request of HA'ARETZ. The poll included the question: "Do you think that the establishment of additional settlements in Judaea and Samaria could or could not be the main stumbling block to the establishment of the autonomy in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?" Some 45.3 percent replied in the affirmative and 30 percent replied in the negative. Another 9 percent said that the establishment of additional settlements could "perhaps" be an obstacle to the establishment of the autonomy. Hence, 54.3 percent are against the establishment of additional settlements. Some 15.7 percent did not have an opinion. Among the people opposed to the establishment of additional settlements there is an outstanding number of people holding academic and executive positions (64.2 percent), people who have been living in Israel since before the establishment of the state (62 percent) and people with a high income (60.2 percent). The poll comprised a sample of 1,200 men and women who were interviewed in their houses throughout the country. [Text] [TA071425 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 7 May 80 p 1]

DEPORTATIONS, TITO'S FUNERAL--YEDI'OT AHARONOT notes that the Washington administration and the UN Security Council called on Israel to return the three inciters who were deported from the West Bank. The newspaper says that Israel is the only country where foreign elements so bluntly interfere in its affairs. This really constitutes a loss of political independence. It is surprising that such a phenomenon occurs precisely during the Likud government's rule. MA'ARIV writes that President Carter's decision not to attend Tito's funeral was wrong. World leaders from both sides of the iron curtain arrived in Belgrade. Only the leader of the superpower regarded by all as the main defense of the free world will be absent. The paper says that the occasion would have given the U.S. President the opportunity to discuss the fate of the hostages in Teheran with other leaders. [Text] [TA081039 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0900 GMT 8 May 80]

SECURITY STRENGTHENED IN HEBRON--The house-to-house searches in Hebron to discover traces of the terrorists who murdered the six Israelis at the Hadassah Building are continuing, but the investigation has not produced any significant results so far. The searches will continue with the aim of checking most if not all the houses in the town. With regard to the future defense of the Hadassah Building, an order has been given by the IDF to treat the place as a completely military installation. This means that additional forces will now be sent to the building and it will be protected as if it were essential military installation. In the past, the IDF felt that a partial guard was sufficient and stationed only a small reserve unit at the building. [Excerpt] [TA080911 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 8 May 80 p 1]

PROVOCATIVE REPORTS--AL-QUDS editor Mahmud Abu (Zuluf) was cautioned yesterday to be careful of what is published in his newspaper to avoid arousing tempers and provoking the public. Security elements and Interior Ministry representatives visited the offices of AL-QUDS yesterday. They reprimanded the editor for yesterday's headline: "Gush Emunim Members Have Tried To Occupy the Al-Aqsah Mosque." Below, AL-QUDS reported that Arab youths opposed the "occupation" and that this developed into a fistfight between the sides. As is known, this version was not accepted by security elements, who regarded it as a sort of provocation. Abu (Zuluf) admitted his error, apologized for the incident and promised to be more careful in the future. [Tawfiq Khuri] [Text] [TA090844 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 9 May 80 p 4]

CSO: 4805

ARAB LEAGUE OFFICIAL WARNS AGAINST ISRAELI INTERVENTION

Beirut MONDAY MORNING in English 21-27 Apr 80 pp 16-21

[Interview with Hamadi al-Sid, undersecretary general of the Arab League, by Mona al-Said--date and place not given]

[Text]

The Arab states will use the oil weapon against the friends of Israel if the Jewish state does not stop its intervention in South Lebanon, Arab League Undersecretary General Hamadi Essid told *Monday Morning* last week.

He said the Arabs would start with diplomatic pressure at the United Nations, but if this did not "make the international community understand that Israel's role as the spoiled child of the West is unacceptable... there are other kinds of pressure, including economic pressure."

He added: "The Arabs have a powerful weapon which they have used effectively in the past and may very well use again. In other words, if the West and Israel's friends maintain their pressure on Lebanon and the Palestinians, the Arabs may agree to use whatever economic weapons they possess -- notably, of course, the oil weapon... The Arabs cannot possibly stand by and watch their dignity and their independence being trampled -- for we consider that the independence of Lebanon is the independence of the Arabs in general, and that the Lebanese problem has become an Arab problem."

Essid was talking to *Monday Morning* in Beirut shortly before boarding a Geneva-bound plane for a meeting with Arab League Secretary General Chedli Klibi, who was to give him a letter to be delivered to U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim on Monday or Tuesday of this week.

Essid said the letter would underscore unanimous Arab support of Lebanon in its confrontation with Israel in the South and would warn that "the Arabs this time will not accept a simple withdrawal of Israeli forces from South Lebanon."

The Israeli force was sent into the South on Wednesday, April 9, on the pretext of building defenses against Palestinian guerilla infiltration into Northern Israel.

Last week, Israeli officials were claiming that the troops had been withdrawn, but the Lebanese authorities were denying the claim and the U.N. forces were being prevented from checking it by the Israeli-backed militias of renegade Major Saad Haddad, who blocked all roads in the Southern border strip to all traffic of the U.N. Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL).

Essid noted that Lebanese foreign ministry officials had met with all Arab ambassadors in Lebanon and asked them to use the "full weight" of the Arabs toward the total implementation of the Security Council resolutions. The resolutions call for a UNIFIL takeover of the Southern border strip currently controlled by Israel's Lebanese surrogates, and that is the goal of the current Arab initiative at the United Nations.

"This time," Essid said, "we must not be bashful about placing the responsibility not only on Israel but also on those who have turned Israel into America's spoiled child." The Lebanese authorities, he said, had asked the Arabs to use all the means at their disposal, "political or otherwise, to bring pressure to bear on Israel, on the United Nations and on the countries which help Israel."

Noting that he had discussed this matter with the ambassadors of France, the Soviet Union and the United States in Beirut, he said Paris and Moscow "support the Arabs." He had nothing to say about the attitude of Washington.

Essid is a member of the Arab follow-up committee charged with the task of facilitating the implementation of the resolutions adopted on the Lebanese problem at the November 1979 Arab summit conference in Tunis.

The committee, which has been inactive for over two months, will resume its activities in two weeks, Essid said, but only if the problem of Israeli presence in South Lebanon has been solved.

The first item on its agenda will be the deployment of the Lebanese Army in South Lebanon, starting with the town of Tyre, he said.

This will be possible, he added, if the new defense law approved by Parliament last year goes into the implementation stage.

Essid noted that the deployment had been rejected by the leftist Lebanese National Movement and the Palestine Liberation Organization, which had reservations about the structure of the Army. Those reservations would be eliminated by the implementation of the defense law and there would then be no objection to Army deployment in the South.

If the deployment went ahead, it would be followed by measures to reestablish Lebanese government authority in all other parts of Lebanon. If it was obstructed by "one of the two parties," the follow-up committee would refer the problem back to the Arab chiefs of state. "I believe that this time, we must insist on the implementation of the (Arab) resolutions," Essid said. "We must reject any attempt by any party to impose its own solutions, if those solutions are not in line with the solution which was backed by the Arab consensus in Tunis."

The full interview follows:

The speaker of the Lebanese Parliament, Mr. Kamel Assad, has said that the Arab League intends to present a written protest about the South Lebanese situation to all U.N. members, and that the Arabs will subsequently take "united action" if the Security Council resolutions on the South are not implemented. What action do you think the Arabs can take to accelerate the implementation of those resolutions?

The use of Arab influence (in support of Lebanon) is only natural, but it is also something to which the Arabs committed themselves in the resolutions of the (November, 1979) Tunis summit conference. Those resolutions clearly state that the Arabs are committed to using all their weight until the last Israeli soldier has pulled out of the Arab territory of South Lebanon.

There is first the possibility of using the Arabs' political weight to apply pressure on the United Nations or on its member states, be they Third World states, friendly states or states which have interests in the Arab world.

But there are also other means of pressure.

We sincerely hope that we can, through political pressure, make the international community understand that Israel's role as the spoiled child of the West is unacceptable. But there are other kinds of pressure, including economic pressure.

The Arabs have a powerful weapon which they have used effectively in the past and may very well use again. In other words, if the West and Israel's friends maintain their pressure on Lebanon and the Palestinians, the Arabs may agree to use whatever economic weapons they possess — naturally, of course, the oil weapon.

We are starting with diplomatic action. I think we must first make the United Nations understand that all Arab countries are behind Lebanon. If this does not lead to a solution through the United Nations, I wouldn't be surprised if economic and political pressure is used.

Do you really think the Arabs would use the oil weapon to settle the South Lebanese crisis?

Why not? That weapon has been successfully used in the past, and the Arabs cannot possibly stand idly by and watch their dignity and their independence being trampled — for we consider that the independence of Lebanon is the independence of the Arabs in general, and that the Lebanese problem has become an Arab problem. The Arabs cannot possibly see that independence being trampled without using all the means at their disposal (to protect it) — one of those means being petroleum.

You recently held meetings with the American, French and Soviet ambassadors in Beirut. What was the purpose of those meetings?

Some ambassadors in Beirut asked to see me, and I met with them at their request. Others I myself wanted to see, because they are more knowledgeable about the Lebanese situation and I want to know as much as possible about this situation.

Were those meetings related to the Arab League's intended action at the United Nations, or were they related to the proposed resumption of the Arab follow-up committee's work?

My meetings with the American, French and Soviet ambassadors had nothing to do with the follow-up committee as such, but we did talk, in a clear manner, about the measures which the Arab League may take on behalf of Arab consensus to pressure the member states of the Security Council into using their influence with Israel toward the implementation of the Security Council resolutions, which remain nothing but ink on paper.

Did those meetings achieve anything?

All meetings are fruitful. The diplomats involved can only communicate the Arab League's point of view to their government. That is their job and mine. As for implementation, it is not in my hands or in the hands of the ambassadors.

of the friendly or unfriendly nations.

However, the important thing is that the Soviet Union and France have adopted clear positions on the South Lebanese situation. They support the Arabs. Actually, in the case of the French, they are supporting themselves, because they themselves have for the first time become victims of Israeli aggression, since they are militarily present in the South. This time, the Israeli aggression was not against Lebanon or the Arabs alone, it was against the international community; it was a provocation of the world's biggest international organization and an expression of utter contempt for it. All states, including the United States, must therefore protest.

Do you expect the Arab follow-up committee to resume its work?

Definitely.

When?

When I return from New York, of course. As I have said before, there are more important matters to deal with now — matters more important than the resumption of negotiations toward the implementation of the Tunis resolutions on Lebanon. The most important matter now is Zionist presence in South Lebanon and what effective, unified position the Arabs must adopt toward this presence.

However, as I have also said in the past, the Arab follow-up committee must work in the appropriate atmosphere. At the present time, after the national accord initiative launched by President Sarkis, an atmosphere of dialogue has returned to Lebanon. I believe these two factors can interact, with the follow-up committee promoting national accord and national accord supporting the committee's efforts to implement the Tunis resolutions.

So you expect the committee to resume its activities very soon?

Possibly in two weeks' time.

Possibly? Not certainly?

I believe that when I return in two weeks — by which time my colleague Ambassador

Abdelhamid Brijan (of Kuwait) and the Syrian representative will have also returned — the follow-up committee will hold a meeting with the Lebanese ministerial committee.

And do you expect the committee to continue its work for a long time?

If it starts, it will continue.

If?

When you and other journalists ask me about the follow-up committee, the way you frame your questions indicates a conviction that the committee is finished. Let me tell you something important: the follow-up committee has not failed and it is not finished.

What are the obstacles that have prevented it from continuing its efforts over the past few weeks? What are the obstacles that prevented it from achieving any of its targets in the past?

What you call obstacles are not obstacles.

There are two factors that can stop or suspend the work of the committee, a positive factor and a negative factor. The negative factor occurs when an obstacle obstructs the activities of the committee. The positive factor occurs when other means emerge which are better than indirect negotiations.

What the Arab follow-up committee does is undertake an indirect dialogue between the Lebanese authorities and the Palestine Liberation Organization to move both toward the implementation of the Tunis resolutions, which were unanimously approved by the Arabs. The committee then acts as a catalyst to bring these two parties together. When the Palestinians and the Lebanese launch a direct dialogue, or if agreement is reached between the Lebanese and the Syrians, who are militarily present and playing an important nationalist role in Lebanon, that becomes a positive factor.

Syrian support of President Sarkis in

its search for national accord is a positive factor, and so is the Palestinian demand for the return of Lebanese legitimacy to Lebanon. This (demand) has been stated repeatedly by Abu Ammar (PLO Chief Yasser Arafat), who has said that a balanced Lebanese Army which represents an Arab nationalist Lebanon would find its Palestinian standing by it, defending Lebanon's Southern soil.

When direct Lebanese Syrian or Lebanese-Palestinian dialogue starts, we consider it a positive development which can help toward the implementation of the Tunnisi resolutions. We do not consider our direct participation in such a dialogue essential, and we do not consider our non-involvement in it a failure. We pull back and make way for the direct dialogue to progress.

The suspension of our meetings in recent weeks was due to the fact that Syria launched a direct dialogue with the Lebanese government and the Palestinians did the same.

The suspension of our activities was therefore due to a positive factor and cannot be taken to mean that the committee is finished.

I repeat the mission of the committee is to help the parties present in Lebanon - the Lebanese government and the PLO - in the implementation of the Tunnisi resolutions. The object of the Tunnisi resolutions is to reestablish Lebanese legal authority in all parts of Lebanon while honoring the bilateral agreements signed by Lebanon and the Palestinians - the agreements that give Palestinian armed presence a legal status within certain mutually accepted limitations.

The follow-up committee's job then is to implement the Tunnisi Resolutions. Linking the resolutions and the action that has been taken so far technically, you can say that not a single resolution has been implemented. Is that what you are saying?

Right, Nothing has been implemented.

I say that considering what has happened in Lebanon, considering the Lebanese war, the resolutions are not easy to implement. Their implementation requires, first and foremost, the return of mutual confidence among the parties concerned. Once the proper atmosphere is created, the implementation of the resolutions will follow automatically, it will become a technical matter.

We believe that, to a certain extent, we have succeeded in creating this climate, which President Sarkis carried a step further by launching the accord initiative. Proof of this can be seen in the fact that when we got here, the dialogue between the PLO and the Lebanese government had been disrupted. The follow-up committee was behind the first meeting between Premier Hoss and Abu Ammar. After that, despite the fact that the committee was not physically there, the dialogue continued, with Abu Yed calling on President Sarkis and so on.

And today, I believe the climate is conducive to the reactivation of the follow-up committee toward the implementation of the Tunnisi resolutions.

If the committee does resume its work in two weeks' time, what will the first item on its agenda be?

I believe the committee must first meet to lay down a plan of action. As you know, we haven't met for over two months, unless you count my meeting this week with my colleague Ambassador (Ali) Shair (of Saudi Arabia). After that we can meet with the Lebanese ministerial committee which has been charged with the task of coordinating with the follow-up committee.

But it goes without saying that the committee cannot meet as long as the current dangerous situation in South Lebanon exists, because this situation threatens the Lebanese entity and Arab independence. We cannot talk about

implementing the Tunis resolutions until we have eliminated the problem of Israeli intervention in the South.

It has been reported that there is a difference of views between the Lebanese authorities and the follow-up committee on how the committee should proceed. The reports have said that the Lebanese government has been insisting that the committee confine its efforts to the Southern problem, and that this position has been blocking the reactivation of the committee.

This is not true at all.

My colleague Ambassador Sheer, who is experienced in follow-up committee affairs, told me to expect this kind of rumor even before we held our first meeting. It is not true that the Lebanese government insisted on limiting the committee's activities to the South. And even if such a request were made... Well, it is true that we are here at the request of the Lebanese chief of state, but we - I myself and the representatives of Syria, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia - are here as representatives of Arab consensus and our actions are guided by one thing only: the Tunis resolutions. Those resolutions do not call for the return of Lebanese government authority to the South alone; they call for the return of Lebanese government authority to all parts of Lebanon.

But the Southern problem happens to be the most urgent one.

That is why we started with the South and asked for the deployment of the Lebanese Army there. But that does not mean that we have forgotten the rest of Lebanon. We had to start somewhere, and we decided that the first step should be taken in the South, which, in our view, poses the greatest danger, because of direct Israeli presence there.

There has not been, there is not, and there will never be any problem between us and the Lebanese State.

Exactly what will be on the committee's agenda when it is reactivated?

The return of legal authority to all parts of Lebanon.

And how do you propose to achieve that?

We have decided to make our first goal a modest one, but one which, once achieved, can facilitate the implementation of the rest of the Tunis resolutions. The first goal which we have chosen is the dispatch of the Lebanese Army to the South. And we have agreed that, in the effort to achieve even that modest goal, we should start with the deployment of the Army in Tyre.

There have been certain reservations about the structure of the Lebanese Army, but I believe that the new defense law, along with the national accord initiative, will facilitate matters. The new defense law is now being studied and I believe it will be implemented in the near future. Its implementation will eliminate all objections to the Lebanese Army. Those who have expressed reservations - the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestinians - will then agree to have the Army deploy in Tyre, Nabatiyah and the border strip up to the Lebanese international borders, dealing with the Palestinians in accordance with the terms of the Cairo Agreement and the other accords.

Do you think that will happen?

I think it could happen, if the defense law is applied.

You will be looking into this matter when the committee meets in two weeks' time?

Well, if we meet in two weeks, we will have to assess the situation at that time. Conditions in this country - God's will be done - change daily. It is my hope that within two weeks we will have eliminated Israeli presence in South Lebanon. It is also my hope that in two weeks time, the Lebanese State will have arrived at a new stage in the implementation of the defense law.

How justified do you think your hopes are, especially regarding the implementation of the defense law?

That is not the province of the follow-up committee. It's an inter-Lebanese matter. All I can say is that we hope and pray that this will happen, because it (the implementation of the defense law) would promote inter-Lebanese accord and help the follow-up committee achieve the goal it has set out to achieve.

... Your first priority being the deployment of the Army in the South?

As I have said, we have no priorities as such. We have one goal, and that is the reestablishment of Lebanese legal authority in all parts of Lebanon. We could have chosen to start with the Beirut-Tripoli road, but we have unanimously decided that the first step should be the deployment of the Army in the South. We have done so because we believe this deployment is urgently needed for the defense of the South.

What will you do if you fail in your efforts to deploy the Army in the South?

If we fail, it will be for one of two reasons: either because we choose to start with another program first, or because one of the two parties reject the deployment. In the event of rejection, we can say that the committee has failed; we can return to the Arab chiefs of state and report that we have not been able to implement the Tunis resolutions because our efforts have been obstructed.

So far, however, there are no obstacles barring the entry of the Army to South Lebanon. There were reservations, and those appeared to be reasonable, but it now appears that the new defense law will eliminate those reservations and satisfy all those who have voiced them. If the Lebanese government succeeds in the implementation of the new law, none of those who have voiced reservations can continue to object to Army deployment in the South.

So you believe that the follow-up committee has a better chance to succeed now than it did in the past?

I'd rather deal with facts — with past and present facts. In this country, you can deal with the future only if you're an astrologer, which I'm not. I can't tell you what may happen on our way toward the implementation of the Tunis resolutions. All I can say is that so far, I see no reason why we cannot go ahead with the implementation of the resolutions if the defense law is implemented. All parties appear willing in principle to see the resolutions implemented.

There is one thing we tend to forget: all parties, be they Palestinian or Lebanese, represent part of the Arab consensus, and all parties feel the need for unanimous Arab support. Lebanon needs the support of Arab consensus, and Arab consensus needs the support of all Arab parties. If we are to use our capabilities to pressure the rest of the countries of the world in defense of our causes, our consensus must have credibility. All parties concerned bear the historic responsibility of facilitating the implementation of the Tunis resolutions, because their implementation would give credibility to Arab consensus. Only credible Arab consensus can serve as an effective force of pressure on the United Nations and on the countries which have influence on Israel and can help solve our problems with Israel.

It is unacceptable to have any party take Arab consensus lightly. Arab consensus must become a sacred thing, if it is to be credible and effective. That is why the secretary general of the Arab League is insisting that the (Tunis) resolutions not sink into oblivion or join other Arab dossiers in the trash heap. That is why he asked me to tour the Arab countries and see all the Arab officials who participated in these resolutions, to keep all concerned abreast of developments in Lebanon and activities of

the follow-up committee, and to remind all concerned of their responsibility. Because we represent the Algerian President, the Mauritanian President, the Somali President, the King of Saudi Arabia — all chiefs of state who signed those resolutions and agreed unanimously that they represented the Arab solution — and therefore the best, the only solution — to the problem in Lebanon. Every Arab official must work toward the implementation of those resolutions, whatever the difficulties, and specially if those difficulties are Arab, are the work of those who signed the resolutions.

I believe that this time, we must insist on the implementation of the resolutions. We must reject any attempt by any party to impose its own solutions, if those solutions are not in line with the solution which was backed by the Arab consensus in Tunis.

You have been quoted as saying that during your recent Arab tour, you found no obstacles preventing the Arab states from paying their share of the financial aid that Lebanon was promised at the Tunis summit. Why have the payments been delayed, then?

This is nothing but a problem of accountancy. It's a little problem — not a problem at all, really — which is already behind us.

As you know, this aid was decided on in Tunis, and it was to start coming in at the beginning of 1980. We were still in January when some Lebanese publications started asking, "Where's the Arab aid?"

The Arab governments, thank God, no longer handle money the way they used to when they were in tents. The Kings no longer have chests of dollars or gold next to them, so that all they have to do when they have a payment to make is open the chest and grab. Dealing with money has become a little more sophisticated, it goes through a certain bureaucracy.

We are now in April and most of the Arab countries have either sent their

contribution (for the year) or given orders that it be sent... On Monday, the secretary general called me from Qatar and told me that he had spoken to the Emir of Qatar, who had given orders to have Qatar's contribution sent. Earlier, we were in Saudi Arabia together, and Crown Prince Fahd asked Prince Saud to speed up the payment of aid to Lebanon. Kuwait has told the Lebanese government that its contribution would be sent in the next few days. The United Arab Emirates has already sent its share. Iraq, as you know, has paid part of its contribution, it is paying it in two or three installments, which is only natural.

So some of the contributions have already been paid, and the rest are on the way. They're coming, I assure you. I can understand the skepticism of the Lebanese people, after what they've been through, but I can assure them that they're going to get their money. I believe that all the countries concerned will have paid their contributions in three weeks' time.

Why did Secretary General Chedli Klibi postpone his visit to Lebanon?

This is like the question they asked me when I left Lebanon recently. Why did you leave? I answered that I left Lebanon to work for Lebanon, because it is sometimes more effective to work for Lebanon outside than it is to work for it here. I left Lebanon to speed up Arab aid for Lebanon.

The secretary general was planning to come to Lebanon, but his plan was changed when Israel sent troops into the South. This operation dictated a return to Tunis, where he could meet with the representatives of the Arab states and remain in touch with the U.N. His presence in Tunis now is more beneficial for Lebanon than his presence here would be.

You will be meeting the secretary general in Geneva today. What is the purpose of this meeting?

He will give me a letter to deliver to Dr. U.N. Secretary General Kurti

Waldheim

What will the letter deal with?

I believe it will express unanimous Arab support of Lebanon, and it will state that the Arabs this time will not accept a simple withdrawal of Israeli forces from South Lebanon.

This, in fact, is why (Lebanese Foreign Affairs) Minister (Fuad) Butros and (Foreign Affairs) Secretary General Kassarwan Lahak have been holding talks with all Arab ambassadors in Beirut.

This time, we must not be bashful about placing the responsibility (of the Israeli incursion) not only on Israel but also on those who have turned Israel into America's spoiled child.

Does Secretary General Klibi intend to come to Beirut in the near future?

He is always ready to come. The way the Lebanese press talks about this matter gives the impression that Klibi has some reservations about coming to Lebanon. The secretary general is ready to come to Lebanon once a week if his coming can help solve even the smallest problem, but his presence in Tunis is sometimes more useful to Lebanon than his presence in Lebanon would be. His being in Tunis now, consulting with the representatives of the Arab states, is much more important for Lebanon than a visit to Beirut would be.

In your talks with Lebanese officials this week, what did they ask you to do as the representative of the Arab League?

It's very simple. They asked that the Arab League return to the Tunis resolutions and commit Arab consensus to the support of the South Lebanese cause through the use of all means at the Arabs' disposal, political or otherwise, to bring pressure to bear on Israel, on the United Nations and on the countries that help Israel.

And you think you can do this?

I can at least promise you that we will do the impossible to do it. The secretary general began his consultations as soon as he heard about the latest problem in the South, and there is good response from all Arab states.

Other than the consultations and the

letter you will be delivering to Dr. Waldheim, is there anything specific planned?

It will depend on the development of the situation. If the Israelis continue to violate the resolutions of the United Nations, and if their friends don't pressure them to withdraw from Lebanese territory, the secretary general will obviously ask the Arab countries to undertake more energetic action - at the request of the Lebanese government, of course.

The Lebanese foreign ministry has this time asked all Arab governments to take measures which would be in line with their commitments to Lebanon, and it has also asked for an immediate and total implementation of U.N. resolutions. Speaker Asaad has also demanded the intervention of the Arab League.

In any event, we will do everything possible. As you have noticed, the secretary general has contacted his representative at the U.N., who has placed himself at the disposal of (Lebanese) Ambassador (Ghassan) Tuani and is now exerting tremendous efforts.

Do you expect a detonation of the situation in South Lebanon?

I do not. Not now.

How do you think current Middle Eastern developments can affect the situation in the South?

I think the current developments in the Middle East will affect the situation in the entire area, not only in the South.

What kind of impact do you think they will have on the Southern crisis in particular?

That depends on the general outcome. However, if the Arabs do not use all their pressure potential toward a solution of the Lebanese problem, I believe the general Arab situation will be adversely affected. The Arabs would be well advised to throw their full weight behind the efforts to solve the Lebanese problem - not only because the Lebanese problem is an Arab problem, but also because its solution would serve their own interests.

I believe that the Arabs this time are determined to take all possible measures,

to use their full weight, to go to the limit to exert pressure on the United Nations, because the matter no longer concerns Lebanon alone. The Arabs now feel that the Lebanese problem has gone beyond Lebanon.

If this Israeli challenge continues, I believe the Arabs will once more resort to economic pressure. The Arabs have great power. They have used it successfully in the past, and I wouldn't be surprised if they use it in the future.

CSO: 4820

QADHDHAFI'S ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Milan L'EUROPEO in Italian 1 Apr 80 pp 36-40

[Article by Corrado Incerti: "Qadhdhafi Breeds Allah's Brigades"]

[Text] Twenty thousand guerrilla mercenaries. A well-armed subversive headquarters with ramifications in all Mediterranean countries and its major branch office in Rome. Out of the trial for the Gafsa massacre at Tunisia, here is proof of how Qadhdhafi exports revolution.

Tunisia--Rue de la Liberte is a road full of potholes and dust in the heart of Bardo, a native quarter north of Tunisia. It is a road reserved for the military: There is the almost-completed headquarters of the police command post, there are the houses of army officers, there is the Buchucha barracks, the Tunisian staff headquarters. Inside the barracks, the State Security Court is trying 42 men belonging to the command which on 27 January held the mining city of Gafsa, in the south, for 1 day, killing 40 soldiers and civilians and wounding more than 100.

The accused's relatives, poor desert people, crowded around outside the barracks. Only a few could enter. The hall was occupied by 50 lawyers, about 30 Arab newsmen and a group of "the curious" sent by the police to erect a wall between the prisoners and the public and to prevent any contact.

The defendants filed before the judges and confessed. They confessed all: Military training in Libya in the camps of Colonel Qadhdhafi, under the guidance of Palestinian, Cuban and Soviet instructors; the system of weapons supply; membership in the Front for Tunisian Liberation; liaison with other guerrilla groups. In short, they offered proof that there existed in Libya a real center for international terrorism concerning which it is now possible to supply a picture and geographical map of its bases.

The trial of the Gafsa affair thus became the first public trial of Qadhdhafi, the first trial of the roots of Mediterranean terrorism and of its capitals, among which is included the district of Rome. The name of Italy, in fact,

was often mentioned in the Buchucha barracks, especially during closed-door sessions requested by Tunisian authorities to keep various countries, primarily Algeria and Italy, but not Libya, out of the affair.

Aimed Mergheni is the military chief of the Gafsa Command. With shaved head (before being captured he had a beard and a full head of hair). He is calm, almost serene, despite the almost certain death sentence, and he tells about his life as a guerrilla fighter. At the age of 20, in 1965 he escaped secretly to Algeria. The following year he was in Libya where he met the Tunisian Amara Dhaou Ben Nayel (who now is the head of the Tunisian Liberation Front) and he joined the officers, headed by Qadhdhafi, who on 1 September 1969 overturned King Idris. In June 1972 he entered Tunisia secretly with large amounts of explosives and for the purpose of blowing up the People's House [Casa del Popolo], the American Embassy and the Tunisia Synagogue. He was caught and sentenced to 4 years in prison.

He returned to Libya in 1976 and then went to Algeria to train in the Tinduf camp with [Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el-Hamra and Rio de Oro] members in the southern Sahara. In 1978 he met Ezzedin Sherif, political head of the Gafsa operation, and they made the plan together. Financier and supervisor of what was to be the spark of insurrection in Tunisia was the Libyan Bureau Arabe des Liaisons Exterieures (BAL--Arab Foreign Liaison Office), directed by Hedi Fahdi and Bechir Sharun, two men closely tied to Qadhdhafi.

The BAL, Mergheni confessed, is the Libyan terrorism center of the Arab Nations. Its task is to help finance, arm and train anyone who wants to overcome the moderate Arab regimes, first of all the Tunisian, Moroccan and Egyptian regimes.

In order to recruit men for the Gafsa operation, Mergheni went to Libya twice with a large amount of money received from BAL (the entire operation cost 4 billion lire) and he contacted various Tunisians who were members of the more extremist Palestinian groups (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, headed by George Habbash and the Democratic Front, led by Nayel Hawatmeh). The Libyan Embassy offered him full support and last November Mergheni's guerrilla-terrorists began to move to Tripoli with false Lebanese passports. Mergheni left on 23 December with four guerrilla fighters.

In Tripoli the Libyan authorities exchanged Lebanese passports for temporary Libyan passports, they shortened the customs formalities and the terrorists left for Algiers via Rome. Mergheni took the Tripoli-Rome flight LN126 of the Libyan Lines on 24 December and awaited the arrival of other terrorists. A total of 28 Tunisian guerrilla fighters from Lebanon plus Mergheni, made an appointment to meet in Rome.

Evidently the terrorists tied to Libya had support groups in Rome: In Tunis, the terrorism experts believed that the main European field office of the Lebanese center was moved from Paris to the Italian capital.

And they recall that the Tunisian Ferid Saich, a native of Gafsa, left Rome on 14 January and diverted the Rome-Tunis flight. Saich landed at Palermo, but he wanted to go to Tripoli. And he told the Italian police that he belonged to the "El Thya el arabi" (Arab Rebirth), that is a group of Libyan inspiration tied to the Tunisian Liberation Front. The diversion of the flight came less than 2 weeks before the Gafsa "affair!"

There is more. Among Mergeni's 28 "Palestinian" Tunisians there was one expert in launching guided missiles. At Beirut, the Gafsa chief particularly looked for a specialist of this kind. And this is in the trial record. And since the last shipment of weapons for the attack in Tunisia left Lebanon during the last days of December, it is very probable that the two missile launchers, found a few weeks earlier in the possession of independent Daniele Pifano and destined for Palestine, had Gafsa as their final destination. It is well-known that the sale of arms, even the most sophisticated, flourishes in Italy, but the details of the Tunis trial yielded something more disconcerting: During the closed-door sessions various defendants revealed that Qadhdhafi had established secret weapons caches at Tunis, Sfax, Kairuan, Biserte, that is, in the principal cities of Tunisia. And someone added that many other secret caches are located on the shores of the Mediterranean. Where? The lawyers leaked a few names: Sicily and Corsica.

On Saint Stephen's Day, Mergheni and his crew left Rome for Algiers. During the flight on Alitalia AZ170 he gave each one 2,000 French francs (400,000 lire to die, or if all went well for life imprisonment). At Algiers, the command escaped a police check. Someone (it seems certain to have been an FLN colonel who sympathized with Palestinian and Qadhdhafi extremism, an influential man, if he was able to do what he wanted in the airport of a capital city) took the command into the city where they put up at the Hotel El Menzah.

After a few days, the 29 men took a bus for Tebessa, in southern Algeria, and from there went by truck, led by a 404 Peugeot, to Gafsa. On 3 January the "Lebanese" command which were to be joined later by 16 terrorists who came from Lebanon by land through the "Qadhdhafi Trail" (which crosses the desert to join Libya to the combat areas of the sub-Saharan) was already installed in the city of Gafsa. Almost all had families and relatives there. The city has 32,000 inhabitants. Everyone knew about their presence, their plans. No one talked, but few participated. Insurrection never took place and after a day of victory the "revolutionaries" were captured by the Tunisian Army. They left three dead on the field of battle and they left arms valued at 700 million lire.

Mergheni's story is a good explanation of how terrorism has developed a Mediterranean character and enjoys the suspected complicity of members of the hierarchy of various countries. The confession of Ezzedin Sherif, called "Crosseyes," political head of the operation, documents how the Qadhdhafi Headquarters is vast, well-organized and dangerous. The

interrogators of the other defendants proved definitively that the web of training camps of non-Libyans in Libya represents a serious threat to Mediterranean peace.

Qadhdhafi's "foreign legion" counts certainly at least 20,000 men, including Europeans, Arabs, Latin-Americans, Asians and Africans. Seven thousand of these who are known in Libya as "Third World liberators" goose-stepped in a parade with modern weapons, on 1 September at Benghazi, before Colonel Qadhdhafi.

These men are guided by three units. Qadhdhafi's ultrasecret committee (Maktab Tasdir Athaura), consisting of political and military specialists in subversion, coups d'etat and terrorism, a non-government organization headed by the Qadhdhafi theoretician Ahmed Salem, has the permanent task of exporting revolution to every country in the Mediterranean and the Third World. From last December, that is from the vulgar break between Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] and Qadhdhafi, influential advisers of this committee are also the three leaders of Palestinian extremism, George Habash, Nayel Hawatmeh and Ahmed Jebril. In Tunisia they say they are certain that for the coming months the committee has decided on a revival in grand style of international terrorism.

Under the committee, whose effective leader is Qadhdhafi himself, are the BAL (specializing in subversion in Arab countries) and the Bureau des Relations Exterieures (BRE--Foreign Relations Office), run by Saif Kadat (who many say is a relative of Qadhdhafi). His task is to train terrorists, to pay them, to arm them, to support them through the Libyan embassies in European Nations and in those of the non-Arab Third World. European terrorism, therefore, is run by this bureau.

Italian terrorism too? The Gafsa rebels testified to the presence of many Corsicans and "Sardinians" in a Libyan camp, at Benina, near Benghazi. Its name is Zujur. Other sources confirm that the Benina camp is the "European" base. The camp, a school of sabotage, terrorism, and guerrilla warfare in which the Palestinian instructors teach the use of weapons and explosives, specializes in "psychological warfare": Political theory, the rules of clandestine operations, guerrilla instigation of crowds during demonstrations, are the principal "subjects" of instruction. In addition to the Italians, the participants are militants of the Basque ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty], the Irish IRA [Irish Republican Army], the Corsicans, the Spaniards, the Germans, the Greeks and the Turks.

Further east of Benghazi, near El Beir'a, not far from the Egyptian frontier there is the El Merd camp. It is the base of about 2,000 Egyptian terrorists. There instruction is given in the use of all weapons including antiaircraft cannon. The base also performs the function of a naval command specializing in secret landing actions. The instructors, who are Soviet, come from the nearby Tobruk base where Soviet Navy ships are anchored.

In the eastern part of Libya, in the middle of the desert, toward the border with Sudan there is the Maaten Biskara camp, which is reserved for Africans (from Chad and from the Sudan, especially) who are trained in the use of Kalashnikov rifles and SAM 7 and 9 missile launchers. The instructors are Cuban and Russian. The camp has a military runway which served for the Cuban airlift to Ethiopia.

Again in the middle of the desert, but in western Libya, there is the large Sebha camp, an immense depot for tanks of all kinds (T-54, T-62, T-72), often in bad condition and without replacement parts. According to sources of the French magazine VSD, the Soviets recently sent personnel to this camp to repair the war material. This camp, like that more to the south of Tummo (toward Algeria) serves for the training of Africans and Arabs (Algerians, Moroccans, South Yemenites, Nigerians), but also as a base for Qadhdhafi's blitzes (heavy C-130s can land on the Tummo runway). Foreign Libyan bases are the landing fields of Azuzu, in Chad, and Hal Far, at Malta, ex-NATO Mediterranean base.

Other camps are the Suani (in Tripoli) and the bases of Zauia, Sirte, El Ghenor, near the capital. In addition the ex-American Wheelus, now called Okba Ibn-Nafaa, possesses a military arsenal (tanks and weapons caches) that is exceptionally modern. Tanks by the hundreds are hidden in subterranean tunnels and serve to train (with Soviet and Cuban instructors) the men of Qadhdhafi's "foreign legion," a gigantic command group that strikes from somewhere in the Mediterranean every day.

6034

CSO: 4404

SAUDI COMMUNIST PARTY ISSUES STATEMENT

Beirut AL-NIDA' in Arabic 13 Apr 80 p 10

[Article: "The Communist Party in Saudi Arabia: The Events of the Great Mosque and the Convulsion Have deepened the Crisis of the Regime; Terror Will Not Save It"]

[Text] The central committee of the Communist Party in Saudi Arabia has released a detailed communique about its plenary periodic meeting held in mid-March.

Upon reviewing the domestic situation, the central committee pointed out that since the events of last November, a situation of watchful waiting by the masses, mixed with growing discontent with the course followed by the ruling reactionary establishment and with the domination of Saudi Arabia by American imperialism, characterizes the prevailing domestic situation in Saudi Arabia, despite every means of intimidation and bloody suppression used by the regime.

The central committee stressed that any new developments and events will come as no surprise, since, in certain ways, the situation resembles a volcano. It is quiet on the outside, but seething and boiling on the inside. Patriotic and democratic forces in the country must ascertain when and how it will erupt and what it will eject.

The communique added that the November events confirmed a whole set of indications and conclusions which can be summed up as follows:

1. During its modern history, the country has never seen a mass movement oppose the existing regime and imperialism with such intense, broad-based power as demonstrated by the convulsion of the eastern region and the armed takeover of the Great Mosque in Mecca.
2. What has happened is a logical outgrowth of independent and objective factors and conditions, since the masses have reached a stage of perception and awareness whereby they can no longer accept exploitation, intimidation and disregard of the interests of the people and the nation.

3. These events have shaken the regime of absolute monarchy, and have forever destroyed its prestige which was imposed by force. Moreover, they have deepened the crisis of the establishment, hastened its disintegration, and exposed the spurious nature of the society of "security and wellbeing enjoyed by the Saudi people."

4. For the first time, religious and patriotic segments of the population are playing an important role in the overall national democratic struggle. This is an indication of the widening base of the popular opposition to the Saudi regime.

5. This marks the beginning of a specific new phase in the overall confrontation between the various patriotic forces of the Saudi people and the reactionary ruling establishment, since never before in the history of the country have all forms of peaceful and non-peaceful strife been used as during the November events. It is now clear that in confronting the reactionary violence of the establishment and its bloody means of repression, it is necessary to master all forms of struggle, including the use of arms. The revolutionary forces must be vigilant and prepared for all eventualities.

The communique indicated that the steps and actions taken by the establishment to stabilize conditions in a desperate attempt to survive the effects of the November convulsion, took the form of a purge in the army, the national guard, the ministry of interior and General Intelligence; an extensive campaign of arrests of citizens; and a series of phantasm promises about changing the course and mentality of the regime to absorb the discontent of the masses. The ruling establishment, which has been gripped by fear of an uprising of the people and of a change in the balance of power in the area and the rest of the world in favor of the forces of liberation, progress and socialism, has begun to rely more and more on the backing and protection of international imperialism, particularly American imperialism. Saudi officials have begun to call upon American imperialism to take the initiative and to establish a military presence in the area of the Gulf and the Peninsula under the ill-reputed slogan of hostility to communism and the Soviets. They use the Soviet people's support for the people and revolution of Afghanistan as an excuse and a screen to cover up all kinds of aggressive projects and plans for imperialism. These include an earnest effort to create regional alliances with the sponsorship and protection of the United States. In accordance with the secret agreement concluded between the American administration and the ruling establishment, American forces have the right to use air, sea and land bases in Saudi Arabia. In addition, these forces are actually in the Dhahran air base and the al-Jubayl naval base. This has effectively turned Saudi Arabia into a storehouse of imperialist weapons and fuel, and a base for mobilization and launching of American forces [particularly] quick intervention forces.

The communique pointed out that in keeping with its role in the imperialist master plan, Saudi Arabia tries to save suspicious conspiratorial transactions from the impasse they reach. While doing so, of course, they

continue their [phony] criticism of the Camp David agreement and manifest concern over the Palestine issue!

The communique stressed that there had been no essential change in the nature and policy of the regime, as it continues to be a backward reactionary regime, closely tied with imperialism and its monopolistic companies.

The communique sums up by saying that the Communist Party in Saudi Arabia, based on its evaluation and analysis of the various aspects of the domestic situation and its definition of the most important link in the chain of its duties, reaffirms that the main blow for which all forces and energies must be mobilized should be directed at ending the absolutist regime which is linked with imperialism and its monopolistic companies, in favor of creating a nationalist, democratic regime that would express the interests of the majority of the masses of the people.

8189

CSO: 4802

SAUDI ARABIA

GOVERNMENT MAY HELP TO FINANCE AIRCRAFT DEVELOPMENT

Paris LE MONDE in French 18 Mar 80 p 48

[Text] Kuwait (APP)--Saudi Arabia has decided to pay \$1.5 million (about 6.45 million francs) to the private group of Dassault-Breguet for the construction of the new combat plane, Mirage 4000, according to a report in the Kuwaiti newspaper, AL QABAS, on Sunday, 16 March. Quoting "American sources" and correspondence from Washington, the newspaper adds that "the Saudi government reportedly made this decision to revive the Mirage 4000 project which had been abandoned for lack of capital."

In a related connection, AL QABAS reports that relations between Saudi Arabia and France have been considerably strengthened, basically in the military sector, since the visit in March by the president of the French Republic, Valery Giscard d'Estaing to the Persian Gulf and statements from Paris on the Palestinian problems.

In reality, the Mirage 4000 project was not abandoned, as the prototype has had 100 hours of test flights since its first flight a year ago. However, the financing of this program, which is destined basically for export, is for the moment the result of an initiative by the private French builder who gives an estimate of 6 billion francs as the cost of the funding still required for the definitive development of the airplane, including the costs of industrialization.

Saudi Arabia, which has already purchased F-5 and F-15 American planes, has never concealed the fact that it would eventually be interested in the twin-jet [bireacteur] Mirage 4000, a superior aircraft, to round out its combat forces. Even though Riyadh has decided to share in the development funding of this airplane, it must still get the approval of Paris. However, it is known that Giscard d'Estaing, at the time of his recent trip to the Near East, emphasized how concerned France was about the maintenance of security in this region.

As of the moment, Dassault-Breguet has not received any financial contribution from Saudi Arabia for studies on the Mirage 4000.

8143

CSO: 4800

SAUDI ARABIA

BRIEFS

HELICOPTER PURCHASE--Saudi Arabia wishes to purchase from France an anti-surface vessel weapons system consisting of helicopters and missiles designed by the National Industrial Aerospace Company (SNIAS). A delegation from the Saudi navy was received recently by the authorities of the French Defense Ministry and officials of the "tactical missiles" and "helicopters" divisions of the SNIAS. The weapons system in question involves the combining of the Dauphin helicopter, in its twin engine version, and the air-to-surface AS-15 missile (all weather). The Dauphin 365 N (N for naval) was flown for the first time in March 1979. It is to begin coming off the assembly line at the start of 1981. The Dauphin has already been purchased abroad by the U.S. Coast Guard. [Text] [Paris LE MONDE in French 22 Feb 80 p 3] 8141

CSO: 4800

NATION WILLING TO SEEK SOVIET ASSISTANCE AGAINST ISRAELI AGGRESSION

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 1 Mar 80 p 29

[Article by Damascus correspondent Louis Paris: "Will Syria Seek Soviet Intervention If Israel Attacks the Eastern Front"]

[Text] Begin is escalating his campaign regarding the "Northern Front boiling over" in preparation for aggressions, and Syrian contacts are under way to convene a summit conference of the Steadfastness and Resistance Nations.

On Saturday, 23 February 1980, the Syrian foreign ministry summoned the heads of the diplomatic delegations of the nations which are members of the U.N. Security Council, and informed them of the contents of the message which the deputy prime minister and foreign minister, Mr 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, sent 2 days earlier to Dr Kurt Waldheim, secretary general of the United Nations, concerning the Israeli statements, threats and military movements under way as part of preparations for aggression against Syria.

Although reports of U.N. observers in the area have denied Israeli claims of unusual concentrations of thousands of Syrian tanks, Damascus has noted that the Israeli effort, corroborated by sources and agencies of the Sadat regime, to escalate tension and psychological warfare and create an appropriate atmosphere to undertake aggressive action against Syria, continues to accelerate.

The campaign of agitation against Syria which Menachem Begin, the Israeli prime minister, began as of the end of the last year, has reached alarming proportions. As part of it, he stated: "The northeast borders are boiling like a cauldron, and we must prepare ourselves to confront the situation..."

After Ezer Weizman went so far as to declare a state of readiness within the Israeli forces, he began to pour out threats against Syria, and to say that Syria is preparing for aggression with the backing of the Soviet Union.

As for the Israeli intelligence chief, he said: "Israel must take into account the danger of the situation on the northern borders flaring up...."

He also said: "There is a danger of all-out war which Syria will wage against Israel."

A Syrian official has pointed out the collusion of the Camp David parties, and the correlation between the attacks and fabrications of the organs and agencies of the Egyptian regime with the fabrications and allegations of the Israelis and their information media. For days the Sadat press has been discussing the fact that the Soviet Union is encouraging Syria to undertake military action against Israel.

The Syrian official added that the danger of the situation is increased by the fact that the campaign against Syria coincides with the presence of Israeli military concentrations near points of contact with the Arab Confrontation Front and with Israeli military maneuvers in the vicinity of the lines dividing the two fronts. He said that Israel is taking advantage of a period when "imperialism has shifted to a course of adventure, recklessness and threats of military intervention in a desperate move to extend its control over the region and its oil riches and to impose capitulation upon the Arabs."

The Syrian official mentioned that the history of Israel reveals that the principle of using force has been one of the basic cornerstones of Israeli policy since the formation of the state of Israel. Also, blitzkrieg in the Nazi manner and pre-emptive warfare are among the methods preferred by the Israeli rulers.

Syria moved on a world-wide level. It alerted the United Nations and all of the nations of the world to the danger of the situation and to the aggression under preparation in the areas under Israeli rule. He said that Syria will face all eventualities "with bravery and with a great sense of responsibility with regard to the Syrian homeland, the Arab nation and the cause of peoples aspiring for freedom, progress and peace in the world. Telephone calls made by President Hafiz al-Asad to Libyan President Muammar Qadhafi and Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid, to convene a summit conference of the Steadfastness and Resistance Front, give an idea of the seriousness with which Syria views the situation and the extent of its determination to confront all eventualities with appropriate moves, precautions and action.

Immediately following his departure from a meeting of the Syrian Command in which the Israeli threats were discussed, a high Syrian official told AL-MUSTAQBAL: "Those who imagine that military action will compensate them for their political failure are dreamers indeed. Just as the Camp David campaign turned into defeat for those who launched it, aggression against Syria will turn into disaster for its perpetrators and defeat for those who support it."

In reply to a question as to whether Syria would resort to requesting Soviet military intervention to assist Syria in repelling Israeli aggression, he said: "Syria will never hesitate to undertake any measures it

deems necessary to protect itself and inflict defeat upon its enemies." He added: "Syria possesses enough power of its own as well as Arab support and international friendships, to be capable of taking whatever action is required by Syrian national interests and the national interests of the Arab nation as a whole."

9605

CSO: 4802

OAU OFFICIAL APPRISED OF GAFSA INCIDENT

Kodjo-Mzali Meeting

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 20 Mar 80 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Edem Kodjo After His Meeting With Mohamed Mzali: 'Gafsa Is an African Matter'"]

[Text] Tunisian positions have always been a credit to the OAU [Organization of African Unity].

Yesterday, Mr Mohamed Mzali, minister of national education in charge of coordinating governmental action for the president of the republic, received in his departmental office Mr Edem Kodjo, secretary general of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and his delegation, on their visit to Tunisia, in the presence of Mr Mohamed Fitouri, minister of foreign affairs.

During this meeting, Mr Mohamed Mzali gave information and explanations to the secretary general of the OAU on the attack on Gafsa. With regard to this issue, Mr Kodjo pointed out that, in his opinion, whatever goes on in Tunisia is an African matter, remarking that Tunisia is a peaceful country whose position has always been a credit to the OAU.

Mr Mzali Receives the Moroccan Ambassador

Moreover, Mr Mzali received yesterday afternoon, in his office, Mr Mohamed Tazi, Moroccan ambassador to Tunisia.

At that time, the Moroccan diplomat presented a typewriter with Arabic lettering, where vowel placements on the keyboard had been invented by a Moroccan, to Mr Mohamed Mzali.

During the meeting, the two parties also raised questions of interest to the bilateral cooperation between Tunisia and Morocco.

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Klibi-Kodjo Conversation

Yesterday at noon, Mr Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the League of Arab Nations, received Mr Edem Kodjo, secretary general of the Organization of African Unity.

At the end of the meeting, Mr Kodjo made the following statement: "We had very fruitful discussions with the secretary general of the League of Arab Nations, my brother Chedli Klibi, on the problems of Afro-Arab cooperation. We took stock of the situation and we studied the future and tried to lay the foundation to revitalize this cooperation which is important to both our groups.

"We firmly believe in the Afro-Arab cooperation, and we believe that it must be preserved and actively promoted, regardless of any political problems.

"In this respect, I believe that the meeting we had this morning is of particular importance. We are convinced that after this conversation we could, Mr Chedli and I, give new dynamism to the cooperation between the Arab and African worlds."

Mr Edem Kodjo arrived in Tunis yesterday morning in order to begin contacting Tunisian officials as well as seeing Mr Chedli Klibi.

Mr Kodjo emphasized in a statement that consultations with the Tunisian authorities will deal with problems on the African continent and the implementation of resolutions taken by a certain number of authorities in the Pan-African organization, particularly by the 34th Council of Ministers of the OAU, during its recent meeting in Addis Ababa.

On his arrival at the international airport of Tunis-Carthage, Mr Edem Kodjo was met by Mr Fouad Mebazaa, minister of information and cultural affairs and Mr Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the League of Arab Nations.

Edem Kodjo Visits Gafsa

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 21 Mar 80 p 4

[Text] Accompanied by Mr Mohamed Fitouri, the secretary general of the OAU expressed his distress concerning the attack.

Messrs Mohamed Fitouri, minister of foreign affairs, and Edem Kodjo, secretary general of the OAU, went to Gafsa yesterday afternoon. On their arrival they were met by Messrs M'hamed Abbes and Mohamed Chokri, the governor and secretary general respectively of the coordinating committee of the party in Gafsa.

On this occasion, Mr Edem Kodjo could see the damage done at the end of last month during the attack on Gafsa.

Thus, he visited the "Ahmed Tlili" barracks, the ones in the city, and other places attacked during the assault.

The secretary general visited the families of the victims of the attack, and offered them his condolences. Mr Mohamed Fitouri also offered his condolences to these families who, at this time, received savings books, made out in their names, from the general commission for support for the victims of the Gafsa attack.

Messrs Mohamed Fitouri and Edem Kodjo then visited the premises of the national guard and of the police, and the mosque which had been attacked.

The secretary general expressed his sorrow regarding the attack on Gafsa, and praised the heroism of the citizens, the army and the police.

9465

CSO: 4400

TUNISIA

PRESIDENT HOSTS GAFSA, JERID DELEGATIONS

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 1 Apr 80 pp 1, 4

[Text] The president of the Republic and Mrs Wassila Bourguiba played host yesterday morning at the Carthage Palace to a delegation of Gafsa Governorate, which had come to express its gratitude and thanks to the Supreme Combatant on behalf of the people of the region following the presidential decision concerning the transfer of the seat of the phosphate company to Gafsa.

The delegation was made up of Party and Administrative staff, as well as representatives of national organizations from the region, led by Messrs M'hamed Abbes and Mohamed Chokri, governor and secretary-general respectively of the Coordinating Committee.

In front of the president of the Republic and on behalf of the governorate staff, Mohamed Chokri gave a speech during which he recalled the meeting at Nefta which had reunited the Supreme Combatant with his children of the governorate of Gafsa. This reunion took place following the aggression perpetrated upon this city, and it was a meeting where the people of the region had reaffirmed their attachment to President Bourguiba and their determination to repel all aggression in order to defend the invulnerability of the country and preserve what the nation had attained.

Chokri continued, on behalf of all the people of the governorate, by saying that he was happy to express the esteem and gratitude they felt towards his excellency for the concern he continued to show towards the region and the people. His decision to transfer the seat of the phosphate company to Gafsa, a decision both praiseworthy and highly beneficial, was one made by a man who has not spared any effort to orient, instruct, and make all the regions of the country prosper.

There is no doubt, he added, that this company--in which the state has taken a special interest since 1970, reserving 180 millions of dinars worth of credit for the modernization of its equipment, and raising the general salary from 5 to 21 M.D.--will soon experience an increase in production.

This development will be favored by the administration's presence on the premises, which will serve to iron out difficulties and create a favorable atmosphere which will incite the worker to increase his efforts to participate efficiently in the realization of the development objectives, and to make the Southwest of the country an industrialized region capable of realizing adequate and stable life conditions.

On this occasion, the Supreme Combatant asked the Gafsa Governorate staff to work harder at making the worker more sensitive to the problems of better production.

The president of the Republic also underlined the necessity of ending waste and reducing consumption in order to insure the anticipated success of this development.

The head of state and his wife entertained their guests, as well as Driss Guiga, minister of the interior, at breakfast.

The president of the Republic and Mrs Wassila Bourguiba also received a delegation from Jerid, led by Mohamed Chokri and M'hamed Abbes, in the White Room of the Carthage Palace.

The head of state and his wife shook hands with members of the delegation, composed of staff and Jerid militants, who had come to express their thanks to the Supreme Combatant for the concern he testified towards this region by deciding to make it a governorate.

On this occasion Mohamed Soudani, member of the Party's Central Committee, also gave a speech, on behalf of the people of this region, in which he expressed their thanks and their joy following the presidential decision creating the governorate of Jerid.

He also testified to the people's attachment to the Supreme Combatant and their determination to preserve the republican regime, to reinforce the constitutional institutions, and to meet head on all those who would want to disrupt the attainment of the nation's goals and the independence of the country.

Mohamed Soudani also congratulated everyone on the spirit of comprehension and brotherhood which has always characterized the relations between the people of Jerid and Gafsa, emphasizing the fact that both will work together for the consolidation of the national unity, something for which the Supreme Combatant has made the greatest sacrifices so that Tunisia might always remain free, independent and prosperous.

9572

CSO: 4400

TUNISIA

NEW GOVERNORATE OF JERID ESTABLISHED

Bourguiba Praised

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 1 Apr 80 pp 1, 4

[Text] The people of Jerid greeted the Supreme Combatant's decision to form a governorate in their region with satisfaction and gratitude.

As soon as Driss Guiga, minister of the interior and member of the Political Bureau, made the announcement on Sunday in Tazeus, the people took to the streets shouting "Long live Bourguiba," thereby demonstrating their great joy at this presidential initiative.

Early yesterday morning people began arriving en masse at Tozeur-Nefta International Airport to greet Driss Guiga and to ask him to tell the head of state of their faithfulness and gratitude. The people of Jerid also asked that he be informed of their willingness to work according to party rules in order to attain more for the good of the nation.

In a joyful atmosphere the people shouted cheers for Bourguiba and sang the Revolutionary Hymn. They presented a motion to Driss Guiga in which they mentioned their joy and their pride at President Bourguiba's historic decision.

Moreover, they paid tribute to the Supreme Combatant who, by this action, responded to the hopes of Jerid's masses, which in turn caused them to reaffirm their determination to work unflinchingly in order to warrant the head of state's confidence and to be worthy enough of an event that will be the departure point for the economic and social promotion of the region.

Driss Guiga was asked to pass this motion, read by Mohamed Sondani, member of the Party's Central Committee, on to the Supreme Combatant.

For this occasion, the writer Hechmi Bellamine recited a poem in which he expressed the joy of the people of Jerid towards the head of state's initiative, and their gratitude to the nation's leader.

Driss Guiga assured the people and the staff under M'hamed Abbes, governor of Gafsa, and Mohamed Chokri, secretary-general of the Coordinating Committee who were present that he would transmit their feelings of affection, faith, and support to the Supreme Combatant. He also indicated his satisfaction with the accomplishments realized in the governorate of Gafsa, which are the results of clairvoyant Bourguibian politics, as well as the people's attachment to their leader and to their party.

New Governor Named

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 1 Apr 80 pp 1, 4

[Text] Following the proposal of Driss Guiga, minister of the interior, and by presidential decree, Tahar Ben H'jel was named head of the recently formed Jerid Governorate.

Tahar Ben H'jel, who was recently appointed governor of Jerid, was born 6 November 1928 in Menzel Bou Zelfa.

He attended primary school in his native city, pursued secondary studies at the College Sadiki, and then continued his higher education at the University of Zitouna, where he received the "Ettahsil" diploma in 1953. He also holds a degree from the National School of Administration and the Tunis Advanced School of Law.

Tahar Ben H'jel has been delegate of Tozeur (1956-1957), Rejeb (1957-1960), and Mateur (1960-1965) successively.

He was then appointed first delegate of Bizerte (1965-1967), Gafsa (1967-1969), Sousse (1969-1971), Sfax (1971-1978) and has been first delegate of Zaghouan ever since.

Tahar Ben H'jel has been closely involved at the heart of the Party from a very young age. He was president of the Youth Association of Menzel Bou Zelfa, and a member of the General Union of Tunisian Students (UGET). Tahar Ben H'jel is a Bizerte medal holder. He is Officer of the Order of the Republic and of the Order of Independence. He is married and has four children.

9572

CSO: 4400

TUNISIA

BRIEFS

TRADE UNIONISTS RELEASED--The minister of interior made known that on the orders of President Bourguiba, and on the occasion of Independence Day, the following prisoners were paroled: Khereddine Ben Hedi Ben Thar Salhi, Taieb Ben Ali Ben Brahim Baccouche, Mohamed Salah called Hassine Ben Tahar Ben Otman Ben Kaddour, Abderrazak Ben Saad Ben Mohamed Ayoub, Ismail Ben Brahim Ben Hassine Sahbani, Mohamed Naji Ben Sadok Ben Hassine Chaari, Mustapha Ben Brahim Gharbi, Abdelaziz called Abdelhamid Ben Aid Ben Mohamed Belaid. [Text] [Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 20 Mar 80 p 1] 9465

CSO: 4400

NATIONAL LIBERATION ALONE WILL ENSURE SAHARAN PEACE

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French No 49, 24 Mar 80 pp 30-31

[Article by Hadj Benchehida: "Saharan Republic: 'They' Number 36"]

[Text] Nearly 300 vehicles, ranging from the Land Rover to the French-Austrian SK105 tank and including the Unimog GMC's and the heavy artillery pieces, lead an impressive military parade. On this 28 February 1980 in liberated territory of the Western Sahara, the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic (SDAR) is celebrating the fourth anniversary of its proclamation. Four years have already gone by! But in those 4 short years, surprising progress has been achieved by the Saharan people in their struggle for independence, led by the POLISARIO Front, as these demonstrations amply show.

We are in the middle of the desert. A motley crowd of children, women and old people acclaim the exploits of the soldiers of their People's Liberation Army in the desert war. Their interminable "youyous" wend their way through the limpid, burning air in the implacable sun. While the festivities are going on, all able men are at the front, with the obvious exception of those manning the vehicles or parading before the official stands.

All this rolling stock, without counting the recoilless cannons, the bazookas and individual weapons, has been taken from the enemy. Once the presentation of these spoils of war is over, 2,500 soldiers in arms will parade in turn in an impeccable order. Everyone can see that the infantry, radio units, medical corps, engineers and commandos devote themselves to demonstrations greatly appreciated by military experts.

Otelio de Carvalho, major in the Portuguese Army and one of the leading figures in the "arnation revolution" which on 25 April 1974 in Lisbon decided the fate of the dictatorial regime of Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, is one of the guests of the Saharan authorities. He follows with particular attention the military provisions of the POLISARIO armies. As a strategist, he draws the conclusions of a specialist about the evolution of this war that is putting the desert to fire and sword and spreading as far as southern Moroccan territory. He was to tell us: "I am an artillery officer and the impressive booty we have just seen denotes, in my opinion, a fatal laxity

on the part of the Moroccan Officers Corps. In all the armies of the world, soldiers are taught to destroy their material if they have to withdraw. One never lets it fall into the hands of the enemy in such large quantities."

Again the heating hot sun, the intolerable brightness, the endless sands, the natural environment of an entire people mobilized to win back the soil of the homeland, to gain independence. This struggle is not only military in nature. It also takes on the dimensions of a political and diplomatic battle in which the POLISARIO leaders show that they are quite remarkable strategists in the field.

Already the evening before, at nightfall, after going through the tent city whose lights we had seen in the distance and as soon as we entered the camp where the baked-brick, whitewashed constructions seemed to bear witness to the builders' determination to tell the world of their intention of establishing a compound capable of withstanding the test of time, an early mark of the diplomatic successes won by the young republic was evident: The flags of 35 nations waved in the sky. In 4 years, 35 countries have officially recognized the existence of the SDAR.

Today, while the anniversary celebrations were underway, a 36th nation joined the group. Nor is it just any nation. It is Iran, once the unconditional ally of the Moroccan monarchy. Only a year ago, there was still hesitation about removing from that country, shaken to its very foundations by the waves of the Khomeyni revolution, the image it had shaped for 23 years as a state opposed to the independence of peoples. A woman mounted the platform erected in the desert: "The government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, inspired by the message of Imam Khomeyni saying that the 15th century of the Hegira is to be the beginning of the annihilation of oppressors and that the disinherited must seize their rights with their own hands, without waiting for the oppressors to offer them, encourages the Saharan militants to continue and strengthen their final struggle," she said simply. That was all.

The brief but totally unambiguous message was heard in total silence. It was Mrs Sodabeh Sodeyfi who read it, none other than the special representative of Iranian President Abol Hasan Bani-Sadr, elected to the presidency of the Islamic Republic of Iran on 25 January. Iran's flag was solemnly hoisted to its place beside the 35 others and a long, very long ovation hailed the event. Tehran had just officially recognized the Saharan Republic.

Two other delegations were to attract the attention of observers: first of all, that of Mauritania. A less than a year ago, this country was alongside Morocco, actively involved in the conflict. It has now resolutely embarked upon another path. An adviser to the president in Nouakchott, Mahjoub Ould Beye, head of the Mauritanian delegation, hailed the clearheadedness manifested by the POLISARIO Front in the opening of the peace process that started after the fall of former chief of state Mokhtar Ould Daddah. He then reaffirmed his government's determination to do everything possible to help restore complete peace in the region.

Next came the Niger delegation headed by Salifou Someila, Niger's ambassador to Algiers. He spoke clearly, expressing his country's support for the struggle being waged by the Saharan people to regain their independence. In the very tone and terms of his speech, one could detect the signs of the resolute determination of Niamey authorities to emerge from the cautious reserve they had previously maintained regarding the conflict in the Western Sahara. This evolution could be a sign of the coming establishment of diplomatic relations between the republics of Niger and the Sahara.

The POLISARIO Front is serenely banking on it. There is now a chance that between now and July, a majority may emerge at the annual summit conference of the Organization of African Unity to be held in Freetown, capital of Sierra Leone, favoring admission of the Saharan Republic as a full member. If votes should be lacking, they would be few in number and the chance missed would definitely be made up for in 1981. With the coming independence of Zimbabwe, given the change in attitude of Ndjamena, and perhaps because of the resentment Tripoli now harbors toward Rabat because of the Moroccans' zeal in the Tunisian incident in Gafsa, more than one door is opening before the Saharans.

But the military effectiveness and the diplomatic successes could not totally explain the support of these people for those who direct the national struggle. Each person has been able to examine the detailed organization of the Saharan government machine, which is marked by the principle of fairness. Everything has been designed to serve the collective interests of the social body: administration, justice, the distribution of food, health, the development of handicraft production under extremely difficult conditions. In addition to the hardships imposed by the climate and the natural environment are the upheavals due to the exodus and implacable demands imposed by a wartime economy on a society already completely impoverished. But the miracle is happening: Every wilaya [governorate] has its own supply store. Education and health are the object of particularly remarkable and praiseworthy efforts and are the top priority.

No one can doubt it: This people and their leaders have to have overwhelming reasons for continuing the war in spite of everything. But national liberation has no price. It alone will bring peace to the Western Sahara and the entire region. To achieve it, there must be discreet negotiations between the adversaries because no one can decide on behalf of either of the two belligerents.

The Saharan leaders are praying for peace. They seized the opportunity of the international gathering which took place on the anniversary of their state's founding to send an invitation to Morocco to engage in talks in order to put an end to the desert war. It is now up to King Hassan II.

11,464
CSO: 4400

MOROCCO'S SAHARAN DEFEATS TO HAVE POLITICAL EFFECTS

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French No 49, 24 Mar 80 p 31

[Article by R. M.: "Ouarkziz: Lost Illusions"]

[Text] After the stinging defeat which the Saharan People's Liberation Army just inflicted on the Royal Armed Forces (FAR) in Moroccan territory, in the Djebel Ouarkziz, authorities in Rabat are facing a most critical political situation.

First of all, they undertook a wide-ranging operation for the purpose of ridding the southern region of the country of the POLISARIO troops, whose mere presence in Moroccan provided public proof that failing to control its own territory, the Moroccan Army could not claim to be master of the Western Sahara.

In the hope of crushing the Saharan forces operating in Morocco, Rabat planned an operation which, in the minds of the Moroccan military leaders, had to be decisive and restore their advantage. It was Gen Ahmed Alimi, assigned to King Hassan II, who would conceive and direct the offensive. He used 7,000 men belonging to the elite Ouhoud and Zellaga groups. From 1 to 11 March, they would have massive air support. They would have to fight two major battles: one in Ametti from 1 to 6 March and the other in N'Gueb from 9 to 11 March.

The result was that the Moroccan Army was routed and, according to the account of the AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE special correspondent, "Newsmen present observed that the POLISARIO Front was master of the terrain." This report was confirmed by the British press agency REUTER. Royal Armed Forces losses were 2,000 casualties, 137 men taken prisoner, over 250 vehicles -- including tanks and cannons -- destroyed and over 150 recovered by Saharan soldiers.

Sooner or later, such a resounding defeat cannot fail to have serious political repercussions. How can public opinion and the Moroccan Army continue to withstand the financial and human burden of a war that now more than ever appears to have no solution, despite the announcements of victory and forced optimism put out by authorities in Rabat?

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